POLITICS

FOR THE

PEOPLE:

OR, A

SALMAGUNDY

FOR

SWINE.

VOL. II.

The praiſe of him, who talk'd ſo big
For training up one learned Pig,
Is far below, friend Daniel, thine!
The Feaſt of Words, which you ſupply
To your illuminating Stye,
Makes Herds of literary Swine.

A SPARE-RIB.

LONDON:

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M DCC XCV.

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Politics for the People.

VOL. II.

NUMBER I.

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1794.

MR. EDITOR,

Obſerving, in one of your former numbers, a democratic creed, I take the liberty to ſend you one on the other ſide. It is ſuppoſed to be the production of a certain ſapient Knight, one of the late commiſſioners for the governing of Toulon, and to have been delivered at his admiſſion into the Reevean ſociety, after the toaſt being given of

ARISTOCRACY IN A BUMPER.

I BELIEVE in *one K—g*, the head of *all things*, Maker of *Peers* in England and Ireland, and of all *Knights*, viſible and inviſible.

And in his *lovely Conſort*, Daughter of the *Prince of M——b--gh*,—begotten in the midſt of *G——y*,—*Q—n of Q—ns!*—the *mirror of generoſity!*—*Patroneſs* of the *Poor!*—being of one temper with the K--g, by whom *the R—l Family were made*, who for *us men*, and *our poſterity*, come down from *St. J---s's*, and run up *long bills* in the Suburbs! I believe in that K--g, who went

went into the Country to *make Knights*, and *give away Money*;—he left Town in the Summer, and in a few weeks returned again, according to the Newſpapers, and aſcended the ſtairs of the Trea--ry, and ſitteth on the right hand of *Billy P*——, the ruler,—who ſhall judge what is right and wrong, and whoſe *Taxes ſhall have no end.*

And I believe in *Ed---d Bur-e*, the Protector of *Ariſtocracy*, who with *K--gs* and *Q--ns*, together is worſhipped and glorified, who ſpeaks ſublime in Parliament:—and I ſtedfaſtly believe in his learned Reflections, and acknowledge TOM PAINE's Pamphlets for the remiſſion of burthens, the worſt Books ever publiſhed;—and I look forward in hope of *Promotion*, and expect new Honors in the *Peerage to come*——AMEN."

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

I AM ſorry, on account of the diſtreſſes of my country, to contradict what Mr. Pitt has aſſerted in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, viz. That commercial credit is admirably reſtored: and that trade is much better now than it was ſix months ago.

However miniſters may be impoſed upon with regard to the ſituation of the country; (for I do not ſuppoſe that they make falſe aſſertions without having previouſly received ſome ſort of information) the people ought not to be deceived: and, when any perſon, however high in office, aſſerts a falſehood, endeavouring thereby to miſlead the public mind, it becomes the duty of every honeſt citizen, who knows its abſurdity, to contradict it; and to ſpread

as much as poſſible his contradiction of it, that all ranks and conditions of men may ſee with what avidity a great part of their fellow-creatures are plunged into an extremity of wretchedneſs, miſery, and want. I am aware that, with ſuch perſons as Mr. Burke, (for I am one of the Swiniſh Multitude) my aſſertions will be far from preponderating, when oppoſed to thoſe of Mr. Pitt: but I am armed with ſuch a powerful phalanx in the cauſe of humanity and truth, that were I a pigmy, and he (Mr. Pitt) a Goliah more terrible than he is, I ſhould venture to riſk his diſpleaſure, by boldly coming forward and contradicting him.

If he alludes to the recruiting ſervice only, when he ſpeaks of the goodneſs of trade, I am ready to acquieſce, and drop my pen, although that went on pretty briſkly ſix months ago: but if, as is more likely, he contends that our manufacturers are either in a better, or more hopeful ſituation now, than they were ſix months ago, I ſhall not heſitate to oppoſe him. I have lived within twelve miles of Mancheſter all my life, a very ſhort ſpace excepted, and have generally been employed at the loom, in weaving ſtrong fuſtians, and could have earned a comfortable ſubſiſtence, previous to the war—yea more, by hard labour and frugality, I could have ſaved ſome trifle to aſſiſt me in eaſe of ſickneſs, or ſupport me in the winter of life: but I now experience a ſad reverſe! no ſooner were we bid to quit our peaceful habitations, and to repair to the ſound of the clarion and diſcordant drum, than our commerce left us; and wages fell to ſuch a degree, that I, who am a young man, and unmarried, can ſcarcely earn the common neceſſaries of life.—What, then, muſt be the caſe where there are ſeveral ſmall children, who have no other ſupport than the labour of their parents? It is impoſſible to deſcribe

their

their diſtreſſes. Imagine the half famiſhed parents abſtaining from their coarſe and homely food, in order that their young and tender children may be relieved from that hunger which they themſelves experience.—This is the caſe with ſome thouſands of families, who, not a year ago, were th peaceable poſſeſſors of looms, ſpinning jennies, and other articles of uſe, the rewards of many years induſtry and labour, and with which their humble ſituations had taught them to be content: but in ſpite of all their attempts to withſtand the torrent of oppreſſion, by one baneful year of war, their little fortunes are gone to wreck, and they are reduced to the dreadful ſituation above mentioned.

There are others in a worſe ſituation than theſe, viz. thoſe hapleſs wives and helpleſs children, whoſe huſbands and parents have been forced by dire neceſſity reluctantly to leave them preys to their avaricious and more powerful neighbours, who, ſadly to be lamented, but too often take unfair advantage of their neceſſities, driving them into ſuch a labyrinth of difficulties, that it becomes impoſſible to extricate themſelves: thus, in the language of the poet, they drag on a miſerable life, experiencing "variety of wretch-"edneſs." Their only hopes are now on a ſpeedy peace, to which period they look forward with great anxiety, in hopes that it will reſtore to them their huſbands, fathers, and protectors. Time, that meliorator of our ſorrows, as I have ſeen it ſomewhere obſerved, may bring about a peace, but time cannot reſtore to them their endearing relations —What muſt be their ſufferings, when, at the concluſion of the war, ſome one of their maimed neighbours returns, and, with faultering voice, informs them that, at ſuch a place, their huſbands and fathers fell among heaps of their countrymen; and that their laſt prayers were offered up to Heaven for their ſafety and protection. Can all the

boaſted

boaſted trophies of Cæſar or Alexander compenſate for the pangs of the meaneſt of theſe ſufferers, at the receiving of ſuch news as this?

Hitherto I have alluded only to the ſituation of the mechanics of Mancheſter and its neighbourhood; but I have good reaſon to believe, from every information I have received, that the poor people throughout the manufacturing parts of theſe kingdoms are in a ſimilar diſtreſs. I have lately ſeen a letter from a perſon of undoubted veracity, reſident in Wiltſhire, which deſcribes the miſery of the poor inhabitants ſo feelingly, that none but a heart grown callous by iniquity, could refrain from ſympathiſing in their diſtreſs.

It is in vain for miniſters to inform us, that commercial credit is encreaſing. How ſhould it encreaſe, when, notwithſtanding our boaſted ſuperiority at ſea, and conveyance of trade, our veſſels are every day captured by the French? It is of no avail telling us, that there are emiſſaries in this country, hired by the French, to propagate republican principles. People have too long given way to, and been deceived by ſuch falſe reports; they are beginning to uſe their reaſon; and are no longer to be led into errors, as heretofore, by the fears of an imaginary enemy that is no where to be found but on the tongues of thoſe falſe alarmiſts, who are, themſelves, the hidden ſerpents that have crept into the boſom of their country; and while they ſap the foundation thereof, engage their deluded brethren to ſpend their blood and treaſure in a cauſe, the moſt remote from their true intereſts, and, for which, they are not paid equal to the meaneſt calling in life. Who, that was not infatuated, would engage in ſuch a cauſe? A cauſe, in which none can gain any thing, but that penſioned hoſt of ſycophants, whoſe vile deceptions have too long enſnared

the

the human race. But this diſtreſs will not long be confined to the lower order of mankind:—When the laboring bees are ſlain or diſperſed, the idle and inactive drones cannot long ſurvive! our country gentlemen, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the late aſſociations, begin to ſee the folly of precipitating the nation into a war: and, not without deſert, to feel its baneful influence, by the deprivation of their rents, which their tenants are not able to pay.

In ſhort, if the war continues, we ſhall have nothing but miſery to expect. All orders of men will be involved in one general wreck. The calamities of a neighbouring nation will ſcarcely deter the enraged people from calling their governors to a ſtrict account, for the miſeries wantonly and deſignedly brought on them. But that theſe threatening evils may be avoided, by a ſpeedy and laſting peace, is the ſincere prayer of, your's, &c.

Royton, March 1, 1794.

MECHANICUS.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. Editor,

HUM! *ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds* for *thirty thouſand men!* Reaſonable—very reaſonable. Cheap, very cheap. *Bull hides* would have coſt as much almoſt.

That we may keep our plighted faith, and pay this ſubſidy, freſh taxes muſt be raiſed.—Let me conſider. What articles of *luxury* have we that are not already taxed? Straw for thatching;—Corn for flour;—Flour for bread;—Bread for food—Butcher's meat;—Potatoes, and all the

the eſculent vegetables. Then a duty on all cottage windows which have not ſhutters to them, and thoſe ſhutters cloſed at ſix o'clock in the evening during winter, and eight during ſummer, that our candle revenue may not be eluded by the *ſwiniſh multitude* enjoying themſelves over their *luxurious repaſts* by moonlight. O what glorious, and never to be exhauſted, reſources are open to the view of a young—bold—intrepid—*patriotic* financier!

With ſuch an addition to our armies, we ſhall certainly enact wonders. Hum! ha! The body which we lend to the Emperor, if his *imperial and highly anointed Majeſty* has influence ſufficient to prevent them from fighting the Auſtrian troops, which they have for ſome time ſhewn themſelves eagerly inclined to do;—that body, when united, will, in the courſe of the campaign, ſurely appear before—*Landau*, and probably reduce that obſtinate garriſon to—a ſhort allowance of proviſions before they again are driven into winter quarters.

The body which is to join the Britiſh troops will enable our young *Alexander* to perform wonders in the ſkirmiſhing claſs of *tactics;* and probably induce that brave, but rather unfortunate commander to wiſh to ſeek for the ſprig of laurel which dropt from his hat, the laſt campaign, in the gardens of *Roſendahl*. And our army of Emigrants—that truly *amiable* and *diſintereſted* body, whoſe ſole deſire is to——cut the throats of their countrymen, and lay themſelves quietly down to an eternal ſleep in the wilds of *Vendee*,—that moſt *patriotic* and *philanthropic* corps, under the command of our grand advocate for *peace*, *harmony*, and *brotherly love*, Lord Moira, ſhall carry *terror* and *deſtruction* to the neighbourhood of St. Maloes; and having *petrified* the *daſtardly* inhabitants with their ferocious looks, return quietly to Cowes, and cheer the

ſwiniſh

ſwiniſh multitude with their *auguſt* preſence during the long evenings of a gloomy winter.

Lord Howe again ſhall ſcour the channel, and protect our trade, even from the *feaſt day of Saint John the Baptiſt*, until the *feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangel;* and *Torbay* ſhall be a ſtranger to him for——*ſeveral days*.

Then ſhall Oppoſition dwindle into nothing, and the *loaves* and *fiſhes* be our own for ev—— Here was a delightful reverie!——here, a delicious dream! that wanted only the additional letters E and R, to have proved of more conſequence than the fee ſimple of any *principality* in the whole *German empire*. Yet, out of this exquiſite reverie was I awakened by the abrupt intruſion of a fellow, whom, if I had not known him for a *reſpectable* informer, I ſhould moſt certainly have curſed for a Jacobin. Staring, with a look of terror that chilled my very ſoul;—"Its all over, your honour," he cried. ---"All over (replied I, with a countenance as ghaſtly as his own) I preſume——all over!—What have they landed? Could they embark and diſembark an hundred thouſand men without the knowledge of the Admirals of our ports? Order my horſes this inſtant."—"Oh! your honour, 'tis worſe than that."—"Worſe than that!—What! no relapſe; not"—"O! your honour, 'tis all over at Lancaſter!"—"Is it?"—"Ha!"—How! which way?"—"Nay, do not be ſo much alarmed."—"What—torn to pieces, I ſuppoſe. The loyal people would not ſuffer the law to take its courſe, but executed ſummary juſtice on the *wretch*—that *enemy* to *Church and King!*" —"Well, well, never be ſhocked at ſuch trifles. There's money for you:" and I gave the raſcal fifty pieces. "Lord, your honour (cried he) you're in the *wrong box*." Wrong box!—'Aye, your honour, we are all *dunned*.'—

Dunned

Dunned!—'Yes, your honour, *dunned*—committed—pillory—pelted—rotten eggs—mud—ſtones——O Lord, O Lord!—I'm off, your honour;' and thus the ſcoundrel left me; though not before I had learned that a friend, miſtaking *Lancaſter* for *Edinburgh*, had pledged his veracity a little too far; and my little Exciſeman, fearful of meeting a ſimilar fate, ſhould he remain in our ſervice, took himſelf off *ſans ceremonie*.

I had no ſooner conſoled myſelf for this diſaſter, by reflecting, that though one enemy had legally eſcaped us, another, and *far more arch*, had inflicted voluntary baniſhment on himſelf; than open flew the door, and in ran a fellow, ſtill more laconic than my Exciſeman, with a long ſlip of paper in each hand.—'A meſſenger, your honour; convention liſt, your honour; only forty-two prizes in three days, your honour,' (for to extend the diſtinction between ourſelves and the *ſwiniſh multitude* as widely as poſſible, we make our people ſalute us with, *your honour*, at every opportunity, whether with propriety or not). And what does the other ſlip contain?—'America liſt,—French frigates, your honour, only twenty-five prizes taken by them, in the twinkling of your honour's eye.' Poh! *trifles* in any war;--but, in a juſt and neceſſary war, the loſs will be borne with pleaſure. A *patriotic* ſacrifice to our *glorious* Conſtitution of *Church and King!* And as we can very conveniently ſpare *four or five thouſand* of our prime ſailors for two or three years, *they* will of courſe rejoice at the loſs of our additional million or two.

Again, Sir; well, what now? Is the fellow dumb? ——'Poland, your honour.'—Well, what of Poland? ——'Poland, your honour, Poland!' Why Poland, blockhead, is the *property* of Pruſſia and Ruſſia, and the people are their *Royal property* too, are they not?--'*Re-*

bels

bels, your honour, *Rebels*—Proclamations—Manifeſtoes —Troops in arms, your honour.' Damn your honour !—— —bring be a glaſs of water, William.——It was high time to call for water, Mr. Editor, I aſſure you ; and had they brought me *laurel water*, ſo horribly was I chagrined at the reiterations of poignant diſagreeables, that I verily believe I ſhould have drunk it out of pure vexation.

Fortunately, at that critical juncture, a ſervant announced *Sir Edmund Metaphor*. Cheered with the darling name, and certain that the flowers of his converſation would, *from prudential motives*, ſhed their ſweeteſt influence, I inſtantly revived, and ran to welcome him ; and though, he talked of ſhips and men, of bellowing guns, and furnaces for conflagrating balls, of flowing ſheets and ſwelling ſails, of ſquadrons ſailed direct from *Breſt*, and others from the Cheſapeak, deſtined to unite their force againſt our fleet at Martinico, yet in ſuch accents did the news tranſpire, that I could almoſt wiſh they might ſucceed in their *atrocious* enterprize, purely to enjoy the delicious *honey-dew* of his ſoul-ſoothing conſolation. Yous, &c.

April 1, 1794. ARISTOCRAT.

THE GOITRE†.

A Fable.

READER ! you've ſeen perchance, (for every ſight
John Bull's devout attention draws)
You've ſeen, with equal wonder and delight,
The Monſtrous Craws—
Now if you feel your vigorous fancy able
To give a mere unform'd excreſcence
Exiſtence perſonal and eſſence,
See how a WEN can figure in a fable.

† A wen, or ſwelling in the throat,

A *Goitre* in an Alpine valley bred,
In ſhape and ſize full rival to the head,
  Eſteem'd among the belles of Syon
The prettieſt lump of fleſh was e'er ſet eye on,
Made vain, as we may well ſuppoſe,
  With admiration, like a noddy,
Puff'd with ſelf-conſequence and folly, choſe
  To ſtand in competition with the body,

And thus he argued,—" In the general plan
That forms the commonwealth of man,
We may preſume that every ſingle part,
  In bulk, and growth, and diſtribution,
Was made, by never-erring art,
  Beſt ſuited to the human conſtitution.
'Twere then enough for me to found pretenſions
On my long ſtanding, place and large dimenſions;
  But be it known, that, if I pleaſe,
I can bring better claims than theſe.

And, firſt, my *privileges*. When the head,
  Fatigu'd with thinking, or with raking,
Lies on the pillow pale and dead,
  Ready to ſplit with aching;
When the heart flutters, and with direful rumble
  The cholick'd bowels grumble;
  When limbs are on the rack,
And grinding pains run thro' the long long back;
  I loll upon the breaſt,
   In eaſe and reſt,
With nought to do, but put my juices
  To all their proper uſes:
And thus I fatten, grow, and thrive,
While they, poor ſouls! ſcarce keep themſelves alive.

Now

Now for my *ſervices*. I need not tell ye
How once the members quarrell'd with the belly;
And ſtill the reſty raſcals led
By the rebellious head,
Are prone to riot.
'Tis then my taſk to keep them quiet,
By draining off ſuperfluous humours,
Suppreſſing ferments and plethoric tumours,
And by the wholeſome ſyſtem of ſtarvation,
Maintaining peace and due ſubordination.
And thus I keep the balance even,
And fit the body-politic for heaven.

Theſe things conſider'd, reaſon muſt agree
That place and preference are due to me;
Yet, for the gen'ral welfare, I'm content
To make a cloſe and firm ALLIANCE,
That we may all live eaſy and content,
And bid our foes defiance."

While thus, Sir Goitre, ſwaggering and vap'ring,
Led his poor paſſive partner ſuch a life,
Comes a *French Surgeon* flouriſhing and capering,
Who whipping out his knife,
Made an inciſion to the quick,
Like boys about a ſtick,
And preſently proceeded to diſſever
The ill-match'd pair for ever and for ever.
Here Goitre lay, a wither'd lifeleſs lump,
While the diſburthen'd body vigorous grew and plump.

Moſt ſtates abound in hangers on and tumours,
From petty warts to wens of monſtrous ſize,
That ſuck the blood and waſte the precious humours,
Yet call themſelves ſupporters and allies.

The

The *French practitioners* are bold and fable,
None better underſtand the art of lopping;
When *Engliſh Surgeons* come to practice cropping,
I'll try to find the *Goitre* of the fable.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. Editor,

If you think the following Verſes, compoſed on a late tranſaction, in our celebrated borough of Coddletown, calculated to entertain any of our ſwiniſh brethren, by inſerting them in your very valuable Repoſitory you will oblige

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

THE AUTHOR.

EXCOMMUNICATION;

OR,

Leonard Grunter expelled from the *M-r-vian Herd* at *Coddletown* for *ſeditious Opinions.*

A RECENT TALE,—BY GREGORY GRUNTER.

YE THINKING SWINE of theſe *alarming* times,
Whoſe harmleſs thoughts are conſtru'd into crimes,
Whoſe very looks, at this *alarming* ſeaſon,
Are deem'd ſeditious—and whoſe grunt—is treaſon!
Permit a brother Pig to lay before ye
The ſubſtance dire of an *alarming* ſtory.
Ah lend a gracious ear whilſt I relate
In pig-like manner, LEONARD GRUNTER's fate,
Who, in M-r-v--n ſtye, with ſwiniſh glee,
Oft grunted *Lullabo*, and *Lullabee*;

Oft

Oft did with ſimple piety rehearſe
Ditties compris'd of pure Sternholdian verſe.
But vain, alas! his boſom now may burn
For joys like theſe, which never ſhall return.—
No more ſhall LEONARD caſt the tender glance,
No more his pious heart with tranſport dance,
To ſee the *holy ſiſters* neat and prim,
Beſtow the tender, ſidelong look at him!
No more the PRIEST ſhall tell him with a nod,
That, in his voice, he hears the *voice of GOD.*
—'Tis paſt, and LEONARD's heart no more ſhall pant
For ſimple ditty, nor M-r-v--n cant;
Nor ſhall the *parſon pig*, as heretofore,
E'er lord it o'er his ſwiniſh conſcience more.
Permit me now, my ſwiniſh friends, to ſay
How to *expulſion* LEONARD found the way.——
'Twas ſome months ſince that Leonard firſt began
T' feel his dignity, and act the man;
He us'd his reaſon, and he look'd about,
And ſpy'd ſome failings in his PARSON out—
He us'd his eyes, and, like a cunning elf,
Reſolv'd for once to ſee things for himſelf.—
He heard his PARSON PIG oft preach and pray,
Talk much of Heav'n, and put folks in the way;
Declare the road that led to joys above
Was pav'd with *meekneſs*, and *M-r-v--n love.*
He heard him, though *a miniſter of peace*,
Pray that the TRADE *of ſlaughter* might increaſe;
That God, in mercy, would be pleas'd to grant
Succeſs to *wretches*, who for *murder* pant,
That they might *torture*, *baniſh*, *rob*, or *kill*,
Whoever dar'd t' oppoſe their mighty will!

LEO-

LEONARD at laſt began to think it odd
That *ſuch a voice* could be the *voice of God;*
He thought it ſtrange that *holy men* ſhould ſound
The *ſavage War-whoop* with delight around,
Yet dare aſſert, with hypocritic cant,
That for the *good of ſouls their boſoms pant!*
And now his reas'ning faculties began
To drive ſubmiſſion from the inward man.
The *holy brethren* ſaw, with wonder ſtrange,
In LEONARD's principles the wondrous change;
Heard him the Parſon's tyranny diſown,
And dare aſſert his conſcience was his own:
Strait to the *Parſon Pig* they made complaint,
And fir'd with *rage divine* the *rev'rend ſaint.*
LEONARD condemn'd, was ſummon'd to the bar,
To wage with PRIESTCRAFT an unequal war;
He gladly went, without or guilt, or fear,
And thus beſpoke the *meek* M-r-v--n *ſeer,*
"Is then the *trade of prieſtcraft* much in danger,
That thus you're grown to LOVELY PEACE a ſtranger?
Is this the goſpel of your heav'nly Lord,
This horrid doctrine of the ſlaught'ring ſword?
Art thou a miniſter of God, whoſe mind,
Fraught with revenge, unholy, and unkind,
Pregnant with miſchief, and infernal ire,
Would'ſt ſet the world in flames of war on fire?---
Ah, vile impoſtor! how unlike thy Lord,
Whoſe ſoul all mercy--healing in his word,
Reliev'd diſtreſs, reſtor'd to ſight the blind,
And fed, and bleſs'd, the meaneſt of mankind:
None but the friends of peace perform his will;
To *ſave* mankind, his motto---not to *kill.*"

What

What LEONARD ſaid the wond'ring Parſon hears
Sound like loud thunder in his *rev'rend* ears ;
He thought it beſt, recover'd from the ſhock,
From *dire contagion* to preſerve his flock ;
He deem'd ſound argument a waſte of time,
And meekneſs ſinful, when ſo *huge* the crime ;
He judg'd, as LEONARD knew a thing or two,
That gentle remedies would never do ;
And as to urge him to recant were vain,
He thus aſſail'd him in imperious ſtrain,—
" How dar'ſt thou vex the *miniſter of God*,
Who rules the *holy brethren* with his nod ;
Who *thinks for all*, or tells them *what* to think ;---
Down from my preſence, wretch, for ever ſink !
Thou ſhalt in HELL, thou dog, be left in lurch,
As ſure as I'm the Reverend Mr. ———.
Know that *my* GOD has, from the higheſt heav'n,
The boon of nice diſcernment to me giv'n,
That I can, by the perſon's viſage, tell
Whether his doom be paradiſe, or hell ;
And whilſt I exerciſe the ſkill divine;
I mark ſedition on that face of thine.
Go then---with TRAITORS, DEVILS, doom'd to dwell,
And herd with curſed JACOBINS in HELL !!! "

N.B. Owing to a diſappointment, we are obliged to defer the title page and indexes for vol. 1ſt, till next week.

Politics for the People.

VOL. II.

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1794.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

The following Political Creed is ſaid to have been compoſed by ST. EDMUND, alias Mr. Burke, and appears to have been intended as a directory to young Courtiers. If you will give it a place in your Repoſitory, it may, perhaps, ſerve to entertain ſome of the Swiniſh Multitude, as it has

A CONSTANT READER.

ST. EDMUND's CREED.

WHOSOEVER would riſe at Cou-t, before all things, it is neceſſary that he ſhould believe in my *Book of Reflections*.

Which tenets, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he ſhall remain in obſcurity.

And my tenets are theſe, that ye praiſe *one* Ariſtocrat in *three*, and *three* Ariſtocrats in *one*.

Neither confounding the perſons, nor dividing their politics.

For

For there is one *Ariſtocrat in Myſelf*, another in *Monſ. de Ca—e*, and another in *Lord Haw-ſb-y*.

But my own head, Cal—e's head, and Haw—ſb-y's head, are all alike—the brains equal, and the ideas exactly correſpondent.

Such as I am ſuch is Cal—e, and ſuch is L--d Haw-ſb-ry.

B—ke the Author, Cal—e the Author, and L—d Haw-ſb—y the Author.

B—ke incomprehenſible, Cal—e incomprehenſible, and Haw-ſb—ry incomprehenſible.

Yet there are not three Incomprehenſibles, nor three Authors, but one Author, and one Incomprehenſible.

So likewiſe I am B—ke, Cal—e is B—ke, and Lord Haw-ſb—ry is B—ke.

And yet we are not three B—kes, but one B—ke.

For like as ye are compelled by TOM PAINE's doctrines to believe every man has his own Rights to maintain,

So are ye forbidden by my book to believe any ſuch thing.

Furthermore it is neceſſary, for promotion, that ye ſcrape acquaintance with Billy P-tt, or, be aſſured, ye ſhall not riſe.

For the right way is this, that ye believe and confeſs that the Mini—r is immaculate, and that his ways are wonderful!

And that I am the eſſence of Oratory—a great man in the Houſe, and brought up at St Om—'s.

A ſenſible and perfect man, doing nothing in malice; and, moreover, a man of great penetration.

Equal to Cal—e as touching his head-piece, and inferior to Cal—e in nothing.

ho,

Who, though he is a great man, yet he is not two men, but one man.

One, not merely by writing, but by writing in a good cauſe—one altogether, not by confuſion of ideas, but by uniformity of manner.

And every man, with as much underſtanding as a gooſe, muſt know that as Cal--e is one man, ſo am I the ſame.

Who laboured for your inſtruction, and repaired unto Dod--ey, who ſitteth behind the counter, from whoſe preſs my book iſſued.

And all men bought them up, and I found my account in my own works.

And they that have believed in them ſhall be promoted, and they that have not ſhall remain in obſcurity.

Theſe are the tenets I profeſs, and except a man believe faithfully therein, he can never riſe in Co--t.

Praiſe be unto Myſelf, Cal--e, and L—d Haw-ſb--y, as it was in the beginning of the Seſſions, is now, and ſhall be during Parl--me-t. AMEN.

The addreſſes of different Societies to ſuffering individuals, in general convey the ſentiments of the human mind in ſuch clear and unequivocal language, that we ſhall proceed, as we have done, in giving them a place in this repoſitory, not only from a conſideration of their being calculated to arouſe and animate thoſe who have been unconcerned at the preſent appearance of the times, but becauſe we think they deſerve a better fate than to be caſt aſide with a newſpaper of the day.

TO THOMAS WALKER,

On his late Trial for a Conſpiracy, at Lancaſter Aſſizes, when he was honourably acquitted, and his accuſer commanded to priſon for wilful perjury.

Fellow Citizen,

WITH hearts charged with ſorrow, and boſoms heaving with ſympathy, the Sheffield Conſtitutional So-

ciety lately addreſſed their five devoted brethren, Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald, previous to the execution of that tyrannical ſentence, whereby they are to be ſevered from their country; and their country at once deprived of five of its brighteſt luminaries, its beſt, its braveſt friends.

With equal veneration, eſteem and gratitude, but with far more pleaſing ſenſations, we now congratulate you upon the victory which Truth and Juſtice, in your perſon, have obtained over Falſehood and Villainy.

The 2d of April, 1794, ſhall be a day immortal in the Annals of Freedom. We will tell our children, and poſterity ſhall read with tranſport, that on that triumphant day, there was found in Britain a MAN, againſt whom Perjury reared his blaſted front; againſt whom Malice exhauſted all its poiſoned quivers; againſt whom conſpiring Villainy employed all its dark aſſaſſins; againſt whom envy vomited all its rancour; againſt whom proſtituted Spies and hired Informers preferred their blackeſt accuſations; againſt whom jealous prieſts and petty magiſterial deſpots pointed all their hotteſt artillery of anathemas and indictments in vain! His virtue, purified by ſufferings, confirmed, collected, ſtrengthened by oppoſition, burſt forth in all its native ſplendour, to the aſtoniſhment of his friends, to the confuſion of his foes!

When we contraſt the characters of your enemies with your own, we ſee how low humanity can be debaſed by ingratitude, how high humanity can be exalted by charity.

In you the narrow name of Patriot, which impriſons its influence within the petty limits of country, expands into the univerſal Philanthropiſt, whoſe generous boſom welcomes,

welcomes, in one fraternal embrace, the whole FAMILY OF MAN.

Patriotiſm is confined to provinces and ſections of land; it is circumſcribed by rivers, by mountains, by ſeas, or by oceans. Philanthropy, like the light of Heaven, pours its unbounded influence all round the globe, and ſhines upon all the ends of the earth.

Henceforward we renounce the party name, and cold, ungenerous ſpirit of Patriots; like you we will become Philanthropiſts; we will no longer be *lovers only of our country*, but, like you, we will be lovers of mankind; and O may your example animate the whole maſs of Society, that we may no longer, becauſe we were born on different ſpecks of the ſame earth, be ſavages and barbarians to one another; but, wherever Man meets Man, may a brother hail a brother!

Signed, by order of a General Meeting of the Friends of Juſtice, of Liberty, and of Humanity, in Sheffield,

W. BROOMHEAD,
Secretary to the Conſtitutional Society.

Sheffield, April 7, 1794.

ANSWER

To the Friends of Liberty, Juſtice, & Humanity, in SHEFFIELD.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

IT would be ſuperfluous in me to expreſs the ſatisfaction I received on reading your letter of the 7th inſt. occaſioned

oned by my honourable acquital at the late aſſizes for this county. After the gratification of my own mind, (conſcious of the falſehood and the deteſtable character of the accuſation) nothing can be more deſirable than the approbation of the upright and intelligent part of my countrymen.

Nothing leſs than the lives of ten innocent perſons were aimed at in the courſe of this proſecution. A charge of high treaſon againſt Samuel Jackſon, William Paul, and myſelf, was frittered down into an indictment for a conſpiracy to overthrow the conſtitution: and ſeven freſh defendants, namely, George M'Callum, John Smith, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearſall, Benjamin Booth, Henry Yorke, and Joſeph Collier, were added to thoſe at firſt accuſed.

Bribery and ſubornation were the means by which an evidence (now committed for perjury) was obtained. Had another been procured, and we not been provided with ſufficient negative teſtimony, we might have been tried, and though perfectly innocent of every part of the charge, have ſuffered as in caſes of treaſon.

Had I liſtened to the timid, though well meant counſels of ſome of my friends, I ſhould have fled from this proſecution, ſupported, as it was feared it might be, by the paſſions and prejudices which very induſtrious miſrepreſentations had raiſed in this country. But I have long been convinced that perſecution is an enemy which muſt be grappled with to be overcome, if we have any regard for ourſelves or our families, for the cauſe we have eſpouſed, and for our fellow labourers in that cauſe. Notwithſtanding all the malignity exerted againſt us, the event has proved that we had nothing to fear in relying upon our innocence and the integrity of an *Engliſh* jury.

I hope

I hope and believe that the cauſe of reform will flouriſh in proportion as its advocates are perſecuted, ſo long as they ſhall remain firm to their principles, and illuſtrate them by their practice; and, in my opinion, every honeſt man is at this moment called upon to exert himſelf by all legal means in favour of the ſyſtem of peace and reform, and againſt war and corruption.

The ſame feelings which lead us to love our neighbours and our country, make us anxious for every individual of our ſpecies, whatever be his colour or his nation. Slavery, whether African or European, will be an object of abhorrence to all diſintereſted men. My opinions on that ſubject are well known, and I truſt you will never find me deſerting them.

To take from men all the comforts of life, to rob them of their liberty and their country is little ſhort of inflicting the pains of death itſelf. Thank God we are not yet arrived in England at that point of arbitrary juriſprudence which, for mere opinions, has conſigned Meſſrs Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerrald to tranſportation, like felons, to the dreary and miſerable climate of Botany Bay—may your application in their behalf meet the ſucceſs which its juſtice demands; and may the true ſpirit of the Engliſh laws never be contaminated by puniſhments ſo utterly diſproportioned even to the alledged offence.

THOMAS WALKER.

Mancheſter, April 15, 1794.

AN ADDRESS

Of the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin,

TO

Joſeph Prieſtley, L.D.D. on his quitting England for America.

SIR,

SUFFER a ſociety which has been calumniated as devoid of all ſenſe of religion, law, or morality, to ſympathiſe with one, whom calumny of a ſimilar kind is about to drive from his native land, a land which he has adorned and enlightened in almoſt every branch of literature, and of uſeful philoſophy. The emigration of Dr. PRIESTLEY will form a ſtriking hiſtorical fact, by which alone, future ages will learn to eſtimate truly the temper of the preſent times. Your departure will not only give evidence of the injury which philoſophy and literature have received in your perſon, but will prove the accumulation of petty diſquietudes, which has robbed your life of its zeſt and enjoyment; for, at your age, no one would willingly embark on ſuch a voyage, and ſure we are, it was your wiſh and prayer to be buried in your native country, which contains the duſt of your old friends, *Savile*, *Price*, *Jebb*, and *Fothergill*. But be cheerful, dear Sir, you are going to a happier world—the world of *Waſhington* and *Franklin*.

In idea, we accompany you. We ſtand near you while you are ſetting ſail. We watch your eyes that linger on the white cliffs, and we hear the patriarchal bleſſing which your ſoul pours out on the land of your nativity, the aſpiration that aſcends to God for its peace, its freedom, and

its

its proſperity. Again do we participate in your feelings, on firſt beholding nature in her nobleſt ſcenes and grandeſt features; on finding man buſied in rendering himſelf worthy of nature, but more than all, on contemplating with philoſophic preſcience, the coming period when thoſe vaſt inland ſeas ſhall be ſhadowed with ſails, when the St. Lawrence and Miſſiſippi ſhall ſtretch forth their arms to embrace the continent in a great circle of interior navigation; when the Pacific Ocean ſhall pour into the Atlantic; when *man* will become more precious than *fine gold*, and when his ambition ſhall be to *ſubdue the elements*, not to *ſubjugate his fellow creatures*; to make fire, water, earth and air, obey his bidding, but to leave the pure ætherial mind, as the ſole thing in nature, free and incoercible.

Happy, indeed, would it be, were men in power to recollect *this* quality of the human mind. Suffer us to give them an example from a ſcience of which you are a mighty maſter, that attempts to fix the element of mind only to encreaſe its activity, and that to calculate what may be from what has been, is a very dangerous deceit. Were all the ſaltpetre in India monopolized, this would only make chemical reſearches more ardent and ſucceſsful. The chalky earths would be ſearched for it, and nitre beds would be made in every cellar and every ſtable. Did not that prove ſufficient, the genius of chemiſtry would find in a new ſalt a ſubſtitute for nitre, or a power ſuperior to it †. It requires greater genius than Mr. Pitt ſeems to poſſeſs, to know the wonderful *reſources of mind*, when patriotiſm animates philoſophy, and all

† Mr. BERTHOLET diſcovered that oxygenated muriatic gas, received in a ley of cauſtic pot aſh, forms a chryſtallizable neutral ſalt which detonates more ſtrongly than nitre.

the

the arts and ſciences are put under a ſtate of requiſition, when the attention of a whole ſcientific people is bent on multiplying the means and inſtruments of deſtruction, and when philoſophy riſes in a maſs to drive on the wedge of war. A black powder has changed the military art, and, in a great degree, the manners of mankind. Why may not the ſame ſcience which produced it, produce another powder which, inflamed under a certain compreſſion, might impel the air ſo as to ſhake down the ſtrongeſt towers, and ſcatter deſtruction.

But you are going to a country where ſcience is turned to better uſes. Your change of place will give room for the matchleſs activity of your genius; and you will take a ſublime pleaſure in beſtowing on Britain the benefit of your future diſcoveries. As matter changes its form, but not a particle is ever loſt, ſo the principles of virtuous minds are equally imperiſhable; and your change of ſituation may even render *Truth* more operative, *Knowledge* more productive, and, in the event, *Liberty* itſelf more univerſal. Wafted by the winds, or toſt by the waves the ſeed that is *here* thrown out as dead, *there* ſhoots up and flouriſhes. It is probable that emigration to America, from the firſt ſettlement downward, has not only ſerved the cauſe of general liberty, but will eventually and circuitouſly ſerve it even in Britain. What mighty events have ariſen from that germ which might once have been ſuppoſed to be left for ever in the woods of America, but thrown upon the boſom of Nature, the breath of God revived it, and the world hath gathered its fruits. Even Ireland has contributed her ſhare to the liberties of America; and while purblind ſtateſmen were happy to get rid of the ſtubborn Preſbyterians of the North, they little thought that they were ſerving a good cauſe in another

quarter

quarter—Yes! the volunteers of Ireland ſtill live—they live acroſs the Atlantic. Let this idea animate us in our ſufferings, and may the pure principles and genuine luſtre of the Britiſh Conſtitution, reflected from *their coaſts*, penetrate into *our cells*, and *our dungeons*.

Farewel—great and good man! great by your mental powers, by your multiplied literary labours, but greater ſtill by thoſe houſhold virtues which form the only ſolid ſecurity for public conduct, by thoſe mild and gentle qualities, which far from being adverſe to, are moſt frequently attended with ſevere and inflexible patriotiſm, riſing, like an oak, above a modeſt manſion.—Farewel—but before you go, we beſeech a portion of your parting prayer to the Author of good, for ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, the pupil of JEBB, and our brother, now ſuffering impriſonment, and for all thoſe who have ſuffered, and are about to ſuffer in the ſame cauſe—*the cauſe of impartial and adequate repreſentation—the cauſe of the Conſtitution*. Pray to the beſt of Beings for MUIR, PALMER, SKIRVING, MARGAROT, and GERRALD, who are now, or will ſhortly be croſſing, like you, the bleak ocean, but to a barbarous land!—Pray that they may be animated with the ſame ſpirit, which, in the days of their fathers, triumphed at the ſtake, and ſhone in the midſt of flames! Melancholy, indeed, it is that the mildeſt and moſt humane of all religions ſhould have ever been ſo perverted as to hang or burn men in order to keep them of one faith. It is equally melancholy, that the moſt deſervedly extolled of civil conſtitutions ſhould recur to ſimilar modes of coercion, and that hanging and burning are not now employed, principally becauſe meaſures *apparently* milder, are conſidered as more effectual. Farewel! Soon may you embrace your ſons on the American

rican ſhore, may WASHINGTON take you by the hand, and the ſhade of FRANKLIN look down, with calm delight, on the FIRST STATESMAN OF THE AGE EXTENDING HIS PROTECTION TO ITS FIRST PHILOSOPHER.

March 28, 1794.

Society for Conſtitutional Information.

LONDON, *March* 28, 1794.

Reſolved that the following Addreſs be ſent to Meſſrs. MUIR, PALMER, SKIRVING, MARGAROT, and GERRALD.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

ALTHOUGH we have hitherto been the ſilent, yet we have by no means been the unconcerned ſpectators of your conduct and ſufferings. We have ſeen and approved of your exertions for your country's happineſs--We have marked with honeſt indignation, every ſtep that your enemies have taken to bring you to your preſent ſituation. Your enemies are the enemies of PUBLIC LIBERTY, the men who are conſpiring againſt the happineſs of mankind. The cauſe in which you embarked, and to which you have borne an honourable teſtimony, is worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too great, to expect its accompliſhment without oppoſition.

The hiſtory of liberty, for whoſe ſake you are doomed to a long and unmerited exile, will afford in the preſent inſtance, that conſolation, that former martyrs to the ſame cauſe have experienced: the conſolation, that you *will not*, you *cannot*, ſuffer in vain.

Men

Men may periſh, but truth will prevail; neither perſecution, nor baniſhment, nor death itſelf, can *finally* injure the progreſs of thoſe principles which involve the general happineſs of man.

While therefore we join every friend to humanity in lamenting what you have *already* endured, and with anxious hearts, anticipate the perils to which you may be expoſed in a barren and uncultivated country: yet we can rejoice that the ſources of happineſs are limited to no place, but are as extenſive as the DOMINION OF GOD; under the protection of that GREAT BEING, may you at all times, and in all places, feel the pleaſure that ariſes from conſcious integrity.

Fellow Citizens, we aſſure you that the memory of your virtue ſhall never be effaced from our breaſts; the cauſe for which you have ſtruggled, is a glorious cauſe, the world that has witneſſed *your exertions*, ſhall witneſs *ours alſo*.

A full and fair repreſentation of the People of Great Britain, we ſeek with all the ardour of men and Britons, for the ſake of which we are not only ready *to act with vigour and unanimity, but we truſt, prepared alſo to ſuffer with conſtancy*.

Our beſt wiſhes will ever attend you, and we do believe that the day is not very diſtant, when we ſhall again receive you on the Britiſh ſhores, THE WELCOME CHILDREN OF A FREE AND HAPPY COUNTRY.

By Order of the Society.

A NEW

A NEW SONG.

To the Tune of—*Rule, Britannia.*

WHEN *Britain* firſt, impell'd by pride,
Uſurp'd dominion o'er the main,
Bleſt Peace ſhe vainly threw aſide,
And gave her ſons the galling chain.
View, Britannia, Britannia, view the waves
On which thy darling ſons are ſlaves.

The nations now leſs bleſt than thee,
Shall ſee their haughty deſpots fall,
What time thy hapleſs fate ſhall be
The ſcorn and pity of them all.
View, Britannia, &c.

Thy — — — ne'er ſhall bend
The glorious cauſe of freedom down;
His rage ſhall fan the ſacred flame,
And work thy woes and her renown.
View, &c.

Thee beſt becomes the contrite ſtrain,
For cities drench'd with human gore,
For crimes which tinge the orient main,
And baniſh Peace from AFRIC's ſhore.
View, &c.

The

The *Muſes* ſtill with freedom found,
Shall from thy venal court repair,
To ſing on GALLIA's happier ground,
Or breathe COLUMBIA's purer air.
View, &c.

New York, R. H.
Dec. 1, 1793.

ANECDOTE.

A correſpondent informs us, that a certain *reverend* magiſtrate in a principal town in the county of Lancaſter lately made uſe of the following very extraordinary declaration, in a mixed company:—"I would give an hundred "pounds, if 10,000 Frenchmen were to land in Eng- "land!—the country would then be put under *military* "law—the known Jacobins would ſoon be *tucked up*—and "thoſe that *I ſuſpected* of harbouring dangerous doctrines "to *our church* and king, I would inſtantly commit to "Lancaſter."—For the honour of "church and king," we ſincerely hope our correſpondent is miſtaken in this information, though he poſitively avows it for a fact. Gracious Heaven!—how the bench muſt be enriched by ſuch a *head!*—how the pulpit muſt be adorned by ſuch a *heart!*—This Holy Servant of the PRINCE OF PEACE, who turns a pretty penny by ſupplying the Flanders market with human fleſh, has converted the Church into a ſhop, to ſwear, into his Majeſty's ſervice, the ſtarving wretches who chuſe rather to periſh by the ſword in a foreign land, than by famine at home—Thus changing the houſe of GOD into a den of manſlayers!!

To CORRESPONDENTS.

W. BASKERVILLE's favour, containing reaſons for not attending the Meeting of the Correſponding Society at Chalk Farm, and Obſervations on the preſent State of European Governments, is received; but we muſt beg to poſtpone the inſertion of it to a time when its effect may probably be greater.

We beg to return thanks to our correſpondent GREGORY GRUNTER, and requeſt his future favours.

WELDONIUS's favour ſhall be attended to.

JUNIUS's Extracts from No. XV. of Monthly Communications, we muſt decline inſerting, except he will ſend us the number, or a full extract of the Piece or Pieces from which they are ſelected.

JOB SCOTT's Teſtimony is not of a Nature for admiſſion in this work.

The concluding part of a lecture is inadmiſſible.

Politics for the People.

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1794.

To the Patriots associated in the Societies for Constitutional Information, Friends of the People, London Corresponding, Independant Whigs, and all others throughout Great Britain.

My Friends;

IT is *absolutely necessary* to the prosperity of every community, and to the happiness of the individuals who compose it, that *every one* have an *unrestrained liberty* to HOLD or DISPOSE of his property as he pleases.

But inasmuch as the legislature of Britain has, for a long time past, exercised a power destructive of this great general principle, by forcing from the people, in the way of tax, impost or excise, so much and in such mode as it pleased, a very considerable portion of their property, to the amount, in the last year, of 36 millions, for purposes generally disapproved; it becomes expedient in YOU to counteract such measures, to the utmost of your abilities,

and

and you may think yourſelves, conſidering the times in which we live, peculiarly fortunate, that you have ſo much in your power to effect this end, without ſubjecting yourſelves to the enſanguined iron hand of the law.

Let us not, however, ſuppoſe, that meaſures calculated to reſtrain the violence of rulers, are to be effected without ſome *ſacrifices*, patriots evince themſelves ſuch, by making *thoſe* in the higheſt degree. No private affection ought to be permitted to reſiſt the impulſe which ſuch men feel to promore the happineſs of the whole human race, much leſs then ought you, who aim at the felicity of emancipating myriads from the galling chains of thraldom, heſitate a moment, in changing thoſe *cuſtoms of conſumption* which will morally inſure your object.

The Americans found their non-importation agreement (firſt ſuggeſted in the town of Boſton, by an individual, Mr. Otis, anno 1765) a ſhield ſufficient to protect them againſt the miſchievous machinations of Grenville and others in the britiſh cabinet, and eventually rendered all their ſchemes of oppreſſing that country abortive. It was this meaſure, my friends, that led America to *Liberty* and *Independence*. Now who of you will pretend to tell me, that a non-conſumption agreement, among the patriots of Britain will not with equal certainty, be crowned with equal ſucceſs?

The late addreſſers, and friends of the war, are exerting themſelves, by voluntary ſubſcriptions, to promote the miniſter's projects. Shall it be ſaid, that theſe men are better attached to baneful meaſures—make greater exertions—-and more actively and ſteadily purſue their courſe, than thoſe do who are lovers of the unalienable rights of human nature. Forbid it Virtue! forbid it Patriotiſm!—While the former contribute their thouſands

ſands, will not the latter retain all they can of their earnings from being ſwallowed up in the vortex of the treaſury?

Surely the propoſition has only to be made, and it will ſuddenly be adopted; the fiery blaſts of the furnace of war muſt then expire for want of fuel, or change its direction and conſume thoſe who feed its flame.

Much need not be ſaid to urge the policy and expediency of the meaſure;—to every full grown patriot, enough is already ſtated;—it is for them to commence;—their example, their firmneſs, and their reaſoning, will have wonderful effects upon thoſe who as yet are but children in the ſcience of philoſophical polity founded on the rights of man.

Our political economy will perhaps be beſt changed by a gradual abolition of taxed and exciſed artieles of conſumption, and a ſubſtitution of others in their ſtead, as near alike in nature and quality as can at preſent be found. Perhaps the following might be well to conſtitute our firſt

Table of Non-Conſumption Articles, viz.

Wines, Foreign and Britiſh; Foreign and Britiſh Spirits; i.e. Brandy, Rum, Geneva, Shrub, Whiſkey, and all other Compounds. Hair-Powder and Perfumery, Hats and Gloves, Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, and Tobacco.

The ſubſtitutes for wines and ſpirits need not be enumerated; other beverages are well known, and in common uſe.

The hair may be well cleaned with wheat flour, and this is all the uſe which ought to be made of powder; but as I do not mean to draw any arguments from morality, the principle already laid down, namely, oppoſition

to

to the war, being ſufficient, I ſhall ſay nothing on the luxury and waſte occaſioned by the too general uſe of powder and perfumes.

If gloves muſt be worn, they may be made either of linen or woollen, by every family, without being expoſed to a direct tax.†

Inſtead of tea our females may indulge themſelves with ſeveral infuſions of Britiſh vegetables, ſuch as ſweet-briar leaves, and meadow-ſweet, or a mixture of the flowers of cowſlips and roſes, and various other garden and field herbs, which are much cheaper, equally pleaſant, and more ſalutary than the beſt black teas; for as to all the green ones, they are well known to be deleterious.

A ſubſtitute for coffee can be made from almoſt any of our grains or vetches. Wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, or beans, but particularly cheſnuts, ſcented with vanilla, or peas, to each pound of which half an ounce of almonds may be added.

Chocolate does not admit many, if any, ſubſtitutes, but it may be well diſpenſed with; it may, however, be manufactured from walnut kernels.

It is more pleaſant and ſalubrious to ſmoke camomile flowers than tobacco; the change was made by the patriots confined in Newgate, when a putrid fever raged there laſt October and November, with the happieſt effects; a mixture of lavender and tanſy ſmokes very well.

This non-conſumption agreement, if adopted by your Societies, would ſerve as a good teſt whereby to try the patriotiſm of thoſe who come among you.——Men do not merit to be the advocates of *your cauſe* who are not

† Caps of leather, covered chip or woollen, may be ſubſtituted for hats, ſo long as the latter pay a duty, and every one can indulge himſelf in his choice of color.

wil-

willing to ſupport it with their lives and fortunes!—Men who cannot ſupport an efficient project, becauſe it thwarts old cuſtoms and habits, ought not to be among you! Strong meaſures may induce weak brethren to abandon you; but you will become more powerful by the ſeparation! If it be expected to have no other effect, this alone ſhould be ſufficient to recommend it.

But a greater effect of this meaſure may be calculated, with tolerable accuracy, upon the data in my poſſeſſion.—By returns from the ſeveral Societies in England and Scotland, it appears that the aggregate of their numbers is 268,000 men. Upon Dr. Price's principle of eſtimating, we ſhould reckon the number of ſouls connected in the families of theſe patriots at five for one, which gives as the product 1,340,000; upon an average, theſe conſume of the articles before enumerated at the rate of 4l. each per annum, amounting to 5 360 000l. of which at leaſt one half is drawn into the treaſury abyſs! A defalcation in the revenue of two millions ſix hundred thouſand guineas, in addition to what the war occaſions by the ceſſation of induſtry, &c. would overwhelm, terrify, and confound, thoſe who daringly preſume to oppoſe your honeſt views—would throw the monied ariſtocracy into confuſion, looſen the bond which connects them with the government, and precipitate the Janus-faced miniſter from the Tarpeian rock of office, who muſt neceſſarily draw with him in his fall all the proſtitute and the vile.—The Augean ſtable will thus be cleanſed, and things may then be ſet to rights with cool deliberation. Like a phœnix your government will riſe out of its aſhes with an effulgence demonſtrative of your ſuperior ſplendor.

PLAIN TRUTH.

ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

MR. EDITOR,

HAVING lately treated on the neceſſity of a Parliamentary Reform; pointing out the great ſources of its preſent corrupt ſtate, and the means of its recovery; we are now to conſider, how far thoſe means are likely to effect ſo deſirable an acquiſition.

The parliament, it has been obſerved, is corrupt, and that corruption is owing to *two* cauſes, viz. the venality of its members, and the durability of its continuance. All this may be admitted: but though it is a truiſm in phyſic, that 'to know the diſorder is half the cure;' yet this does not appear to hold good in all caſes; and the political ſyſtem, above all others, is not always the neareſt its recovery by the manifeſtation of its defects.

It was well known in the reigns of the Stuarts, from the various attempts they made to graſp at arbitrary power, hat their aims were to be entirely independent of the people, at leaſt independent of any *controul*, from them, on their will and meaſures;—and though this was always clear enough known by men of common diſcernment, yet that knowledge was never efficient enough to remedy the evil; norwould any revolutionary change have taken place among them, had not the iniquity of their government, and the indiſpenſible neceſſity of the people's redreſs, become at laſt of too ſerious a nature to be baffled by the bare principles of political philoſophy, or contended with by the yawning wiſhes of a few individuals.

You have been told, Sir, that one cauſe of the defects of government is the *inequality* of its repreſentation; and that, ſhould this be removed, it would be ſome advance

to

to its amendment; and, that it moſt undoubtedly would, I will now endeavour farther to demonſtrate.——We will therefore ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that Middleſex, inſtead of returning *eight* members to the Houſe, ſends *one hundred*, viz. 50 for the city and 50 for the county, which number is no more than equal to the proportion they pay to the Land-tax; and as the moſt populous, the moſt commercial, the moſt wealthy, and the moſt important of all the other cities, counties, and boroughs in England, it ſhould not ſend leſs. This being the caſe, then it follows, that where there are the moſt candidates, there muſt be the leaſt corruption, in the *proceſs* of the *election*; and, on that ground, it would be a purer *return*.

But it may be argued, ſuppoſe that to be the caſe, ſtill there would always be the ſame number of members in the Houſe; and whether the hundred was returned for Middleſex, or only eight, and the others made up at random, yet, when thoſe members took their ſeats, they would be all alike liable to the baneful effects of miniſterial influence and court favor.——I anſwer, this would not be the caſe; for, the greater number of the repreſentatives being now returned for rotten boroughs, are conſequently more eaſily bought up; in which inſtance the electors have no choice. In the other caſe, it would partake more of a free election; becauſe in the multiplicity of the number of candidates, every means that may now be uſed to corrupt the electors, would be conſiderably reduced by the difficulty of proportioning thoſe means to the chance of obtaining the ſuffrages of the people. And, in regard to their being, when choſen, alike liable to the influence of the miniſter;—this I muſt likewiſe deny; for, though Sir Robert Walpole has told us, "every man

man may be bought if you give him his price;" yet every man's price not being alike, the ſame terms would not do for all—becauſe the little boroughs would ſell at a much eaſier rate, and ſuch members will be eaſier corrupted, having never poſſeſſed the principles of *integrity* and *ability*, which ſhould have only recommended them to the choice of their conſtituents. But, in large towns and other places where the corruption in the electors would be reduced, there *integrity* and *abilities* would be firſt neceſſarily conſidered, and the repreſentatives *ſuited* to their office, and not the *office* ſuited to the repreſentatives; from thence there would be a leſs liability of corruption in them, and the advantage reſulting would be as follows:

Middleſex now ſends eight members to the Houſe, if therefore there ſhould be a queſtion of great national concern to come forward in that houſe, it would of courſe be of conſiderable importance, how thoſe men (I mean the members for Middleſex) were affected, eſpecially when they had the eyes of the firſt city and county in Europe and the world upon them. In this caſe the miniſter's influence might, perhaps, gain ſix out of the eight, and that at a very high price; but, if he only gained four, then Middleſex would have no voice, becauſe it would then be four againſt four; but, it would be eaſier to gain ſix out of eight, than ſeventy-five out of a hundred, which is exactly the ſame proportion of three-fourths.

We muſt obſerve, on this part, if there is only four againſt four, the difference of ſo ſmall a quantity could effect but little in regard to the balance of power, out of ſo large number as five hundred and thirteen;—but if

there

there is fifty againſt fifty, that is, if all the members for Middleſex ſhould be divided, or, in other words, half of them bought up by the miniſter, the difference would then be conſiderable; for, though Middleſex would then have no voice as before, yet there could be but four hundred and thirteen voters left, which muſt afford a much better chance in their favour. It muſt therefore be clear to demonſtration, that was this equalization to take place, it would neceſſarily tend to a general Reform. The other principle of amendment, conſiſting in ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, would then follow.

I have only now to revert to my firſt queſtion, and that is, to aſk, How theſe things are to be accompliſhed? or, whether the detergent ſtreams which flow from the fountain of liberty, will ever riſe high enough to purge the long-ſtained pollution of that unhallowed ſpot which wears the name of SENATORIAL POWER?

Should this, Sir, not be the caſe, I fear mere reaſoning will avail but little; and nothing but that dreadful period, which ſeems to be haſtening towards us, when "the poor and needy ſhall ſeek *ſuſtenance*, and there is "none, and their tongue cleaveth to their mouth," (which we underſtand to be the laſt ſtate of extremity) *can*, as it always *has done*, effect that change, which, without that extremity, is ſo devoutly to be wiſhed.

AMATOR PATRIÆ.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

O fortunatam rempublicam, ſi quidem hanc ſentinam hujus urbis ejecerit !

O happy ſtate ! were thy ſenate but once drained of this ſink of corruption !

Citizens,

MONTESQUIEU, in his excellent chapter upon the conſtitution of England, ſays, that " When the legiſlative and executive powers are united in the ſame perſon, or in the ſame body of magiſtrates, there can be no liberty." It is apparent, that the illuſtrious author meant to aſſert in this paſſage, that there was this neceſſary ſeparation between the legiſlative and executive powers in the Britiſh conſtitution ; or, to make uſe of his own words, that " it is eſtabliſhed by their own laws."

I do not in the leaſt mean to contradict Monteſquieu in any of the following obſervations, becauſe I am convinced that the *ſpirit* of the conſtitution warrants the ſtrongeſt expreſſions on this head ; what I mean to contend for is, that though, by the ſpirit of the conſtitution, we are intitled to this happy diſtribution of power, yet that we are very far, at preſent, from enjoying ſo diſtinguiſhed a bleſſing.

Monteſquieu further obſerves, in the ſame chapter, that " if the P—— were to have a ſhare in the legiſlature, by the power of reſolving, liberty would be loſt ;" to which I beg leave alſo to add, that it is juſt the ſame thing, and that liberty is equally loſt, whether the P—— exerciſes this power in his own perſon, whether he influences the legiſlative by places, penſions, bribes, or emoluments ; or

ſecures

ſecures a majority therein, by taking care to get a ſufficient number, obedient to his will, in an unconſtitutional manner introduced into it.

Upon theſe principles, then, let us take a view of the Britiſh —— of ——, *not the preſent one*, but of almoſt any other that has been aſſembled within this century; and ſee if we can diſcover in it that influence, which is almoſt equal to the P——'s power of reſolving, ſo dreadful in the idea of Monteſquieu, and of courſe, almoſt as fatal to liberty.

In the firſt place, then, is it not notorious, that ſo avowed and open is this corrupt ſyſtem, that a conſiderable number of our rotten boroughs are publicly called by adminiſtration *Miniſterial Boroughs?* that is, boroughs which invariably elect thoſe perſons for their members that are ſent down to them by the *Prime Miniſter*. It has now been an invariable rule, ſince the year 1714, to increaſe the number of theſe miniſterial boroughs, by the moſt flagitious bribery; and by obtruding their dependants, upon every occaſion, into corporation offices and places of influence, adminiſtration has ſecured almoſt every ſea-port in the kingdom, and many of the ſmaller inland corporations. Thoſe too, who are recommended to the choice of theſe boroughs by the miniſter, are generally men of the moſt abandoned prineiples, ſuch whoſe avarice and vicious appetites compel them to run all lengths for money, and who are more to be dreaded, as the preference is always given to thoſe of the moſt abilities, as likely to prove the moſt ſucceſsful inſtruments of miſchief. Hence D——. ——, J—— ——n, B——e, date their origin, whoſe preſent c——t-favour is the ſevereſt libel upon their lives and actions.

This race of v—r—n, in their legiſlative capacity, the executive doth moſt undoubtedly influence and control.

Is it not alſo notorious, that the —— of ——— ſwarms with *military officers*; men who depend upon the breath of the executive for the very bread they eat—men who have ſworn, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to obey the executive, even though they ſhould be ordered to do things which they know to be contrary to law,—men, who by contract, have renounced all freedom of action,—men who, if they are ordered by their ſuperior to commit what they may even think mu—r, muſt obey, or they may incur a ſentence of death themſelves? Such *men* as theſe, or rather ſuch *ſlaves*, O Britons! compoſe a very conſiderable part of your —— of ——, and *theſe undoubtedly the executive doth alſo influence and control.* Let us next add to theſe, a moſt horrid catalogue of contractors, placemen, and penſioners—, men who buy their ſeats, in order to ſell their voices, and by this iniquitous traffic gain enough, in the ſpace of ſeven years, not only to ſupport their extravagancies during that term, but to enable them alſo, at the expiration of it, to obtain, by corruption, a freſh ſeat for another ſeven years, in the moſt auguſt aſſembly upon earth. And are not *theſe three illuſtrious orders* of men, contractors, placemen, and penſioners, under the influence and control of the executive? And yet they alſo, O my countrymen! compoſe a very conſiderable part of your ſ——te.

If then the majority of your ſ—te, conſiſt of ſuch men as above deſcribed, where can be the diſtinction between the executive and legiſlative powers, on which, according to Monteſquieu, the very exiſtence of liberty depends? If the executive can control the majority of the legiſlative, and the act of the majority is binding upon the whole, is

it

it not juſt the ſame as if the executive could control the whole legiſlative, or had the power of reſolving? In which caſe, according to Monteſquieu, *Liberty would be loſt.*

If we view the ſ—te; every word there that drops from the t—— is echoed back with adulation and praiſe: if war, your ears are immediately ſtunned with war; if peace, you are immediately lulled to ſleep with ſtupid eulogiums on the bleſſings of peace, one orator ſtill exceeding his predeceſſor in ſtupidity and dulneſs. Deficiencies of millions are made good, without a ſingle inquiry how ſuch deficienees could, *with ſo much economy* poſſibly ariſe; and millions upon millions have been granted at a word, though the effect of the grant of former millions, ſtill unaccounted for, has been, to their conſtituents, by an increaſe of taxes and a decay of trade, *poverty, ſickneſs,* and *deſpair.*

If then a corrupt and dependent leg———re is capable of proving a dreadful ſcourge to a people, for whoſe benefit it was originally inſtituted; let us rouſe, O my countrymen, in time. And, as from the above ſhort ſketch of our — of —, we ſee how near this dreadful verge we have been driven by the baſe attempts of wicked and corrupt miniſters: let us remonſtrate, let us reſt neither night nor day, till we have for ever given independence to, and excluded placemen of every kind, whether civil or military, with contractors and penſioners, from, the — of ——.

Your's, &c.

A FREEHOLDER.

THE TENDER's HOLD;

OR,

SEAMEN's SHARE OF *BRITISH LIBERTY*.

WHILE Landmen wander, tho' controul'd,
And *boaſt* the rights of freemen,
Oh! view the TENDER's loathſome Hold,
Where droop your injur'd Seamen;
Dragg'd, by Oppreſſion's ſavage graſp,
From every dear connection;
'Midſt putrid air, Oh! ſee them gaſp,
Oh! mark their deep dejection.

Bluſh then, Oh! bluſh, ye penſion'd hoſt,
Who wallow in profuſion,
For our foul cell proves all your boaſt
To be but mere deluſion.

If Liberty be our's, Oh! ſay,
Why are not all protected?
Why is the hand of ruffian ſway
'Gainſt Seamen thus directed?
Is this your proof of Britiſh rights!
Is this rewarding bravery?
Oh! ſhame to boaſt your tars' exploits,
Yet doom thoſe tars to ſlavery!

Bluſh then, &c.

But juſt return'd from noxious ſkies,
And winter's raging ocean,
To land the ſun-burnt Seaman flies,
Impell'd by ſtrong emotion.

His

His much-lov'd Kate, his children dear,
Around him cling delighted,
When lo! th' impreſſing fiends appear,
And every joy is blighted.
Bluſh then, &c.

Thus from each ſoft endearment torn,
Behold the Seamen languiſh;
His wife, his children, left forlorn,
The prey of bitter anguiſh.
'Reft of thoſe arms whoſe vig'rous ſtrength
Their ſhed from want defended,
They droop, and all their woes at length
Are in a Workhouſe ended.
Bluſh then, &c.

Mark then, ye minions of a Court,
Who prate of Freedom's bleſſing,
Yet ev'ry hell-born war ſupport,
And vindicate impreſſing,
A time will come when things like you,
Mere baubles of creation,
No more will make mankind purſue
The work of devaſtation.
Bluſh then, &c.

MR. EDITOR,

The following Stanzas in your valuable Repoſitory, I truſt will not be unacceptable, being the production of

A FREE-BORN BRITON.

MORTALS attend, and liſten to the voice
Of free-born Frenchmen, hear how they rejoice!
Tyranny they have thrown down,
And now they trample on its crown.

Slavery from Gaul has fled;
Would all the tyrants now were dead,
Frenchmen can't feel its iron rod,
They ſing the vengeance of a God.

For God, provok'd to hear the moans
Of captives, and their wretched groans,
Proclaim'd that tyranny no more
Should ſet its foot on Gallia's ſhore.

All Europe now with them contend,
But God aſſuredly will ſend,
And pour down vengeance on the head,
Of tyrants—nay, he'll ſtrike them dead!

The inſtrument is in his hand,
Ready to purge each gullty land;
France is the tool that he has choſe,
How can man dare to interpoſe?

The prophecies fulfilling are,
It makes ſurrounding nations ſtare;
They ſee his wrath deſcend apace
To puniſh all the ſinful race.

Repent, ye Britons, now Repent!
For God this meſſenger has ſent,
This land aſſuredly he'll purge,
And that with a moſt heavy ſcourge.

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Mr. Editor,

THERE are few prejudices ſo firmly riveted in the hearts of men as that univerſal attachment to particular ſpots of earth, dignified with the ſounding name of patriotiſm, or the love of our country. Various reaſons may be aſſigned why this darling monſter is ſo fondly cheriſhed, this pompous idol ſo abjectly adored. We imbibe this *unnatural vanity*, almoſt with the milk of our mother, who, whilſt ſhe preſſes with tender affection to her panting breaſt, the little helpleſs innocent, the child of her love, pours forth her maternal ſoul in rapturous kiſſes and ſmiles; the delighted cherub (ah! ſtill a ſtranger to the hypocriſy and villainy of the world) returns with artleſs tranſports her endearing careſſes.—Sweet babe! and why art thou ſo ardently attached to that dear mother? Is it becauſe ſhe gave thee life? No; for of that thou art utterly ignorant.—Why then art thou ſo terrified and diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed when conſigned, only for a moment, to the arms of a ſtranger? Becauſe ſhe is thy protector, thy guardian angel; her milky fountains ſupply the little rill of thy exiſtence; her gentle embraces ſupport thee from falling, and ſhield thee from danger; and, upon the ſoft pillow of her boſom thou canſt ſink to refreſhing repoſe. But when the mind begins to bud, and the imagination to bloſſom, the ſphere of its affections begins to expand; no longer does it cling to the mother as its ſole ſupport, the father ſhares its ſmiles, and its brothers and ſiſters, or the cheerful companions of its ſports, divide its love. At ſchool, where the field of its actions is enlarged, its ſimple philanthropy ought to widen with its connections; but there, O my country! I bluſh for thee whilſt I ſpeak it! there are the baneful ſeeds of all future follies and vices ſown; there the flowers of innocence, by falſe culture, are changed and diſtorted into the malignant weeds of prejudice; the pure ſtreams of the infant paſſions are turned out of their courſes by depraved examples, or poiſoned and diſcoloured by narrow maxims of ſelfiſhneſs, which contract the generous feelings of nature, and chain down the nobleſt faculties of the ſoul to mean and ſordid purſuits, or enervate them with low ſenſual gratifications; whereas, had thoſe feelings been properly cheriſhed, and thoſe faculties allowed to expand themſelves as their divine Author deſigned, inſtead of being the ſlave of vitiated paſſions and the dupe of artificial luſts, that very principle of gratitude which attached the infant to its mother, and afterwards the child to its parents and friends, would ſtimulate the youth to make the happineſs of *ſociety* the broad and ſolid baſis of his own; for the more univerſal and diffuſive is public happineſs, the more perfect and ſtable is individual and private enjoyment.

MAN,

MAN, conſidered in the aggregate, is *one* and *immortal*. Man has poſſeſſed the globe from the firſt moment when Adam breathed the balm of Paradiſe.—Man, amidſt all the revolutions of empires and ſtates, has alone continued to exiſt, whilſt generations have riſen and vaniſhed in ſucceſſion; and man ſhall inherit the world till the laſt loud trumpet ſhall ſummon into renovated life the duſt that has ſlept for ages.

There is, therefore, and there can be only *one* intereſt in our planet—the intereſt of MAN, conſidered as *one immortal being*, of whoſe awful body *men* are but the compoſing atoms, of whoſe ſublime and incomprehenſible ſoul, all other ſouls are but emanations, the beams that ſparkle round the diſk of the grand intellectual ſun. It is a curious, but, to a reflecting mind, an obvious and incontrovertible fact, that the human body is always in a ſtate of change; the matter of which it is formed being continually evaporated by perſpiration and digeſtion, requires that it ſhould be frequently ſupplied with new matter in the form of food; ſo that during the ſpan of mortal exiſtence, the ſoul *tranſmigrates* through an infinite variety of matter, and the body of a perſon 40 years of age, is no more the ſame ſubſtance that iſſued in the form of a feeble infant from the womb of his mother, than the branching antlers of the ſtag that ranges the foreſt this ſpring, are the ſame that he ſhed from his temples laſt year.

In like manner, though *men* are hourly changing, yet MAN eternally exiſts. The various people that form the nations of the earth, are only diſtinct members of the ſame body, and the individuals that conſtitute the maſs of each people, are, as before obſerved, only the atoms that compoſe the ſeparate members of the body of man.—

What

What then, is the intereſt of one atom againſt a whole member? It is the intereſt of *one* contemptible *individual* oppoſed to the intereſt of a whole nation. And what is the intereſt of a ſingle member againſt the whole body? It is one nation oppoſed to all mankind—it is patriotiſm oppoſed to philanthropy.

Patriotiſm is a generous principle, when exerted to protect the welfare of a nation againſt the tyranny and ambition of uſurping individuals; but when Patriotiſm endeavours to eſtabliſh one nation paramount over all the world, it is ſtirring up rebellion amongſt the members of the ſame body—it is treaſon againſt God, who made of *one fleſh all the nations of the earth*—it is the dæmon of Diſcord, which, for ages, has drenched the boſom of the common mother Earth in the blood of her ſons, converted the world into one vaſt ſlaughter-houſe, and made men alternately the executioners and the victims of its rage.

Having already exceeded the limits of a letter, I ſhall be under the neceſſity of addreſſing you upon a future occaſion, when I ſhall conſider Patriotiſm and Philanthropy in a *political* view, and endeavour to expoſe the abſurdity and injuſtice of the former, contraſted with the *divinity* of the latter.

PLATO.

Mr. Editor,

If you can give a place to the following deſcription of ſome Caricature Prints, lately exhibited in a Printſeller's Window at Coddletown, with an introduction by *Gregory Grunter*, you will oblige

A READER.

INTRODUCTION.

IN Coddletown's moſt ancient borough dwells,
Fam'd for the various books and prints he ſells,

A Wight

A Wight *ycleped* JACOBIN, whoſe name,
By *dire* ALARMISTS blown from trump of fame,
Strikes terror into GAFFER GREYBEARD's ears,
And makes him quake with moſt alarming fears;
Nay, if the wight be mention'd, the bare ſcund
Shocks his weak frame with terror ſo profound,
That one would ſwear all Bedlam were let looſe,
Or that his worſhip was—A VERY GOOSE!!

JOHN BULL.

Juſt like the ram entangled midſt the thorns,
Which Abram led to ſlaughter by the horns,
Stands the TAM'D BULL—aſtride upon his back
Behold a *ſlaviſh, plund'ring, cut-throat pack*
Of *Auſtrians, Pruſſians, Heſſians*, madly ride,
Exhauſt his ſtrength, and gall his either ſide—
See the proud *Kings* of *Sicily* and *Spain*,
Join to provoke him with their monkiſh train.—
The FRIGHTEN'D *Pope* enjoins him to advance,
To ſave the *ſaints* JUST MELTED DOWN IN FRANCE.
Her wily net *imperial Cath'rine* ſpreads,
To catch the DOCILE BULL where'er he treads;
But leſt her ſtratagems ſhould chance to fail,
Van Scramp behind has got him by the tail.—
Whilſt *Savoy's Duke* intraps him by ſurpriſe,
And with falſe meteors dazzling both his eyes,
Draws o'er his ſpreading horns ſo tight the nooſe,
You'd think the animal could ne'er get looſe.

THE GREAT COAL MERCHANT.

Dreadful effects of a tremenduous puke!
In frightful attitude ſtands *Richmond's Duke*;
His nerves tight ſtrain'd to every finger's end,
Whilſt from his warlike mouth in ſtorms deſcend

Great

Great guns of ſuch huge Caliber and ſize,
As would e'en *Jacobins of France* ſurpriſe,
Could they but ſee ſuch monſtrous muzzles frown
Againſt an army, citadel, or town.
Grape, double headed, canniſter, and round,
Nay, ſhot of ev'ry ſize beſtrew the ground;
Here too you ſee deſcend with *ſwords* and *ſpears*,
Pick-axes, ſhouls, and *ſpades,* for pioneers;
Huge mortars, hand grenades, and *monſtrous bombs*,
Gun carriages, dread tomahawks, and *drums*,
With *piſtols, ſwivels, cutlaſſes*—ſuch ſtore,
As ne'er from *warrior's* ſtomach came before.

THE ARCH APOSTATE.

Arm'd cap-a-pee, with *ſpectacles* and *lance*,
To kill the millions of OPPRESSED *France*,
With ghaſtly ſmiles behind his gorgon ſhield,
ST. OMER'S JESUIT, trembling, takes the field,
His coat of mail, his carcaſe, and his ſpear,
And all his pranks, the wretched SWINE muſt bear.

THE PITT OF HELL.

The heav'n-born miniſter here takes his ſtand,
The loaves and fiſhes from his either hand
Like manna drop on all his fav'rites round,
Who bow ſubmiſſive,—to his int'reſt bound,
And prove, while ſuch the guardians of the nation,
That this is not the time for Reformation.

REMARKS ON ENGLISH HISTORY.

"Neſcire quid accidit ante natus fueris, eſt ſemper eſſe puer."
CIC.

OF all the monarchs who endeavour to introduce arbitrary power, no one was more zealous, no one leſs capable,

capable, than James II. His bigotry to the Roman Catholic religion rendered all his ſchemes abortive. Voltaire ſays, that the antipathy of the Engliſh was ſo great to Popery, that this bigoted king might have gained his ends if he had endeavoured to introduce Mahometaniſm in its ſtead. We can hardly give the writer credit for his aſſertion; for we believe, that the ſame perſons that were averſe to Popery, as the corruption of primitive Chriſtianity, would have been more averſe to a religion which was intended entirely to aboliſh it. A glimmering light is better than none, and they who are denied the uſe of ſun-ſhine, would rather content themſelves with the light of a taper, than conſent to have their eyes rooted out, or to be confined in a dark dungeon during their lives.

The paſſions of the Engliſh might be rouſed by the attacks made on their civil rights by this king; but when they found that he laid his hands likewiſe upon their religious rights, the whole man was alarmed; the fire that ſmoked under the embers mounted into a flame, and ſhewed an obſtinate king, how dangerous it was to endeavour to enſlave the mind as well as the body.

When James caſt his eyes upon the continent he found deſpotiſm every where triumphant; he found the Swedes and Danes, who had once been as free as the Engliſh, had ſubmitted to the yoke of arbitrary power. But he at the ſame time forgot, that his anceſtor had been brought to the block by an injured people; that his own brother had been an exile ſome years in conſequence of his father's deſpotiſm; and, after his reſtoration, his walking in his father's ſteps had ſown the paths of government with thorns, which would otherwiſe have produced nothing but roſes.

Though he knew that a king could not obtain his ends in England without the concurrence of the parliament, at the

the very dawn of his reign he boaſted of being independent; and, as a menace to compel them to grant him his demands for the civil liſt, he told them, "that the *beſt*, if not the *only*, way to engage him to meet them often, would be to uſe him well."

The cruelties he made uſe of to terrify thoſe whom he could neither corrupt nor perſuade to deſert their liberties, were written in characters of blood by the chancellor Jefferies, who formerly had been a Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and Recorder of the City of London. This great perſonage had been petitioned againſt, both by the metropolis and the parliament, for diſcouraging petitioning and remonſtrating againſt the grievances, under which the nation at that time laboured; under ſo ſervile a Chancellor, it was not difficult to condemn every meaſure that was oppoſite to the miniſtry, had it been ever ſo juſt or ever ſo legal. We ought not therefore to wonder, that the petition of ſeven Biſhops againſt reading the declaration for the *ſuſpending* power in the church, ſhould be pronounced to be *publiſhing a ſeditious libel againſt his Majeſty and his government*. This has always been the language of miniſters in ſimilar caſes. The biſhops were ſent to the Tower; their triumphant paſſage to the place of their confinement is deſcribed at large in the hiſtories of this reign, and the peruſal would force every lover of liberty to ſay, in the words of ſcripture, a little changed, "O may I be confined in the ſame manner as theſe Biſhops, and may my confinement operate like theirs."

The frowns of royalty, being unable to ſtop the torrent of petitioning, the miniſtry had recourſe to a fineſſe, and, to counter-balance the cries of freedom, brought the approbation of ſycophants. Addreſſes poured in as faſt as

peti-

petitions, perhaps rather faſter; for he who is bought to profeſs friendſhip, generally over-acts his part.

When the voice of petitioning was ſtifled, the ſighs of freedom were diſſeminated by the preſs. As it was in the power of more people to ſee the critical ſtate of liberty than to feel it, theſe publications opened the eyes of many who before were ſupine; and the torrent which had been reſtrained, overflowed every barrier that could be oppoſed to it by miniſterial power.

The liberty of the preſs has always been coeſſential with the liberty of the ſubject. IF THEY DIE, THEY DIE TOGETHER.

The petition of the biſhops had been ſtigmatized as a *ſeditious libel*, becauſe it oppoſed the meaſures of the miniſtry. It was repreſented as being *publiſhed*, though it was delivered to the king in *private*; and it met with as *ungracious* an anſwer as ever a petition or remonſtrance could do. All publications in the ſame ſtrain met with the ſame cenſure. The floodgates of the law were opened upon the publiſhers; and Scroggs, who favoured the views of the court as much as Jefferies, his predeceſſor, carried the rigour of puniſhment as far as it could be ſtretched. The poor as well as the rich groaned under his iron rod; and had the ſame perſons who were puniſhed by him for political writings, dedicated even the Lord's prayer to him, they would have been ſentenced for *publiſhing treaſon*. When he brought his information, *ex officio*, he might have ſelected ſome detached paſſages from thence; for, the Attorney General, in thoſe days, as now, generally produced detached paſſages, which might have ſupported his charge. The petition, "*Thy kingdom come*," might be ſaid to mean the kingdom of the Prince of Orange, who was invited over by the Engliſh to free them from the

the yoke of tyranny. Detached paſſages in any other piece are equally equivocal, and may equally be tortured.

As it was not in the power of the miniſtry to prevent the bookſellers from publiſhing, though their puniſhments were enormous, they thought of going to the fountain head to prevent the ſtream from flowing, and imagined that the moſt effectual method would be to prevent the people either from *reading* or *ſpeaking*. With this view a proclamation was iſſued out for ſhutting up the coffee-houſes, as places where diſcontents were diſſeminated, and grievances were detected. This was a *coup de maitrè*. But the ſpirit of liberty reſembled Sampſon, the more it was bound with cords the more it increaſed in ſtrength.

Petitions were preſented to the government, complaining that while they who wrote in defence of the conſtitution were groaning under pains and penalties, the publiſhers of works which ſtruck at the very root of our civil and religious liberties were ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, and, in ſome caſes, were rewarded by government.

Government was deaf to this remonſtrance as well as others. The ſtring of power was ſtrained, till at laſt it broke; and they who deſpaired while ſubmiſſive, ſaved the nation by a generous oppoſition.

James, by coveting a power which he had not, loſt that which he was poſſeſſed of, and by attempting to eſtabliſh tyranny, loſt the bleſſings of a limited monarch.

TANAQUIL.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Countrymen and Friends!

YOUR honour and your intereſt demand that you ſhould know your own importance. A conſciouſneſs of the dignity and power which you inherently poſſeſs, as it will ſerve to ſhew you the value of your rights, will animate you to vindicate them. The ſenſe of injury is not alone ſufficient to excite a ſtrenuous and effectual reſiſtance; the circumſtances attending it often aggravate oppreſſion, and ſhould therefore heighten reſentment. I will not wrong either your underſtandings or your feelings, by ſuppoſing you ignorant of, or inſenſible to, the oppreſſion which now prevails; but I wiſh to inſpire you with ſomething more —to expoſe to you the *weakneſs* and *inferiority* of your oppreſſors; to lay before you your own comparative greatneſs, and to diſplay to you your power. If a view of theſe circumſtances, if a conviction of your own ſtrength and importance, of the value of your rights, and of the *baſeneſs* and *inſignificance* of thoſe who attempt to ſubvert them;—

> If theſe be motives weak, break off betimes,
> And every man hence to his idle home;
> So let *high-ſighted Tyranny* rage on,
> Till each man drop by lottery;—but if theſe,
> As I am ſure they do, bear fire enough
> To kindle cowards,
> Surely they cannot

fail of animating Engliſhmen.——

We

We need only recur to the firſt principles of our conſtitution, and indeed of all conſtitutions in the world, to be convinced of the weight and power of the people. The grand end and intention of all government is the welfare of the people; whatever different means may be uſed in different countries, the end remains unvaried in all; for the attainment of this end, the people conſent to appoint a power in the ſtate, to which they individually transfer their wills, dreſs it up in the inſignia of ſovereignty, and arm it with authority. The ſovereign power is in fact no more than the repreſentative of the people, declaratory of their will and bound to act in ſubſervience to their intereſt. Whilſt this is the meaſure of its conduct, the people are bound to pay it obedience, and they neceſſarily will; for in doing ſo they only obey their own will —an obedience which it is not very difficult to enforce.

This, then, is the original compact, viz. that government ſhall conſult the welfare of the people, and that the people ſhall obey government *on that condition;* when that condition is neglected or violated, the people are no longer bound to obey; the truſt which they had repoſed in government ceaſes, and their delegated power reverts to its original ſource.

I may be told, that I have over-rated the abilities of the people, that they have neither underſtanding to judge, nor ſtrength to execute; that the legiſlature is omniſcient and omnipotent; that its proceedings are ſacred, and not to be queſtioned by an inſolent faction; that they are holy and myſterious, uncognizable by the *profanum vulgus*. I know that theſe doctrines are maintained by ſome; and indeed unleſs I knew it from experience, I could not have ſuppoſed that any man would adopt them; for, underſtood in their full extent, they are ſubverſive not only of liberty,

but

but of common ſenſe. Let it be remembered, that the end of government is the welfare of the people; let it be underſtood, that if ever a legiſlature ſhould directly invade the rights of the people and the principles of the conſtitution—an idea almoſt too monſtrous to conceive—it then becomes the duty of the people, in proportion to their allegiance to the conſtitution, to *reſiſt* ſuch invaſion. We muſt deſtroy all ideas of relation, unleſs we allow the exiſtence of this reſerved right in the people: Can there be imagined a more ſtriking abſurdity than that the truſtee ſhould become independent of the perſon repoſing the truſt, and ſhould violate that truſt with impunity?—That the effect ſhould grow more powerful than the cauſe?—The creature ſtronger than the Creator? Even in other countries, where their defective or erroneous policy has circumſcribed the power of the people, we have ſeen the moſt important revolutions wrought through their means; AND I WILL MAINTAIN, THAT THERE IS NOT A PEOPLE UNDER HEAVEN WHO HAVE NOT THE POWER, IF THEY HAD THE INCLINATION AND THE SPIRIT, TO BE FREE. In our own country, we have ſeen the people always triumphant, whenever they have been arouſed—we have ſeen bigotted kings and ambitious ſtateſmen in vain aſſault their liberties. Such is the invincible ſpirit of the people, that every attempt to oppreſs it has only ſerved to confirm its ſecurity, and to eſtabliſh their rights. If what I have ſaid is admitted, if it be true that, under circumſtances of evident oppreſſion, in caſe of that unnatural conſpiracy (which, for ſake of argument, we have ſuppoſed) of the whole legiſlature againſt the conſtitution, the people have a right to reſiſt, and power to redreſs, the inference will be ſtrong and inevitable; it will follow, that they have a clear right to oppoſe, and a certain

power

power to defeat the oppreſſive meaſures of *any part* of it. I believe it is unneceſſary to dwell on the particular and enormous grievances, which immediately weigh upon and oppreſs the whole kingdom; if their own glaring enormity is not ſufficient to flaſh conviction on your minds, "you would not be convinced though one roſe from the dead." Nothing indeed evinces the fatal reality of theſe grievances more fully than the wretched variety of wretched reſources your adverſaries are driven to. There is ſomething ridiculous in their diſtreſs; and what might excite our compaſſion, if it were not criminal to pity ſuch capital offenders. They began with defending their proceedings on the principle of reaſon; but this ground, alas! ſoon failed them; reaſon muſt have forfeited her name and nature, to have given them protection; nor were they more lucky when, in the confuſion of defeat, they fled for refuge to precedent. This battery was ſoon turned with tenfold weight againſt them; baffled, and in deſpair, they at one time endeavored to entrench themſelves in the ſtrong-hold of neceſſity—at another, in the more commodious fortreſs of expediency; but in vain; not all the artful chicane of law, nor venal ſophiſtry of argument, could defend them; one ſimple fact purſued and ſtill purſues them like their evil genius—frightens them and defeats them;—this plain and ſimple fact, that they themſelves ſet the example which the Friends of Freedom have followed, and from which they have never deviated.

We have ſeen, and God forbid that it ſhould be otherwiſe, that the people can and may aſſert and defend their liberties, when directly invaded; this power, however, reſerved to the people for the moſt important purpoſes, muſt be uſed with the utmoſt caution—only exerted on the moſt urgent emergencies—and in its exertion muſt be guided

ſolely

ſolely by the ſpirit of the conſtitution. The ſpirit of the conſtitution requires a full and fair repreſentation of the people; on that, and on that alone, depends the right of taxation; if then the people are unfairly or imperfectly repreſented, or not repreſented at all, that right falls to the ground; the freeholder may refuſe to acknowledge it, and may diſpute the payment of a tax, to the impoſition of which he has not given his conſent; if the officer appointed to collect it proceeds to violence, and robs the freeholder of his property, actual reſiſtance might perhaps be juſtifiable on the part of the ſufferer; but this is a fatal, and ſhould be the laſt reſource; the mild and equitable ſpirit of our conſtitution points out a more deſirable, and an equally effectual method, viz. *to appeal to law* for a full and ample compenſation for the damages ſuſtained from ſuch violence. If the ſpirit of MAGNA CHARTA is not quite extinct, he will receive full redreſs; but if law and juſtice are annihilated—if the Britiſh conſtitution is deſtroyed from its foundation—if liberty is irrecoverably loſt—every Engliſhman ſhould join in the ſentiment of Cato,

"*INDIFFERENT IS MY CHOICE TO LIVE OR*
"*DIE.*"

VASA.

THE ELEPHANT;
OR,
THE PARLIAMENT MAN;

Written many Years ſince.

TAKEN FROM COKE'S INSTITUTES.

ERE bribes convince you whom to chuſe,
The precepts of Lord *Coke* peruſe.

Ob-

Obſerve an *Elephant*, ſays he,
And let like him your Member be :—
Firſt take a man that's free from *gall*,
For Elephants have none at all :
In *flocks* or *parties* he muſt keep ;
For Elephants live juſt like ſheep :
Stubborn in Honour he muſt be ;
For Elephants *ne'er bend the knee* :
Laſt let his *memory* be found,
In which your Elephant's profound ;
That *old examples* from the wiſe,
May prompt him in his No's and I's.

Thus the Lord *Coke* hath gravely writ,
In all the form of Lawyers' wit ;
And then with *Latin*, and all that,
Shews the compariſon is pat.

Yet in ſome points my Lord is wrong ;
One's *teeth* are ſold, and t'other's *tongue* :
Now men of Parliament, God knows,
Are more like *Elephants of ſhows* ;
Whoſe docile memory and ſenſe
Are turn'd to trick, to gather pence.
To get their maſter half a crown,
They ſpread the flag, or lay it down :
Thoſe who bore bulwarks on their backs,
And guarded nations from attacks,
Now practiſe ev'ry pliant geſture,
Op'ning their trunk for ev'ry teſter.
Siam, for elephants ſo fam'd,
Is not with England to be nam'd :
Their elephants by men are ſold ;
Our's ſell themſelves, and take the gold.

Politics for the People.

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1794.

EXTRACTS of the preſent Lord ABINGDON's PROTEST,

Entered on the Lords' Journals in February 1777, *againſt the Bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act.*

Diſſentient. BECAUSE I look upon this bill, not only as a part of that ſyſtem of Colony Government ſo inimical to the civil liberty, ſo repugnant to the firſt and fundamental principles of the conſtitution, ſo ruinous in its meaſures, ſo ſhocking to humanity, and ſo averſe from that new exploded virtue of univerſal benevolence; but becauſe I ſee herein that ſyſtem coming home to ourſelves, and, with haſty ſteps, pointing its dangers, even towards the heart of the kingdom.

— Becauſe the bill itſelf is attended with powers ſubverſive of, and unknown to, the laws of the land, by apprehending perſons, it may be, on groundleſs ſuſpicion, by impriſoning perhaps the innocent, without the uſual and neceſſary form of a ſingle oath, and not too in the common

common gaol of the county, but in whatever part of the realm, be it ever ſo diſtant, that perſecution ſhall think fit to adopt.

Laſtly, Becauſe the hour is come, if from motives of policy only, that coercion to lenity ſhould give way.

The Overthrow of King Charles the Firſt.

KING Charles the firſt ſucceeded his father king James the firſt; and though he was nothing very extraordinary, was ſtill much better than his father, having both more ſenſe and more courage. He married a princeſs of France, daughter to Henry the Great, who, being a zealous Papiſt, and a buſy meddling woman, had an influence over him; which contributed much to his misfortunes. He had learned from his father to fancy that he had a right to be abſolute; and had the courage that his father wanted,—to try for it. This made him quarrel with parliaments, and attempt to raiſe money without them; which no king has a right to do: but there was then ſpirit and virtue enough in the nation to oppoſe it. He would likewiſe, by the advice of a hot-headed parſon (Archbiſhop Laud) eſtabliſh the Common Prayer through the whole kingdom by force, to which the Prebyterians would not ſubmit. Theſe and many other violences raiſed a civil war in the nation, in which he was beaten and taken priſoner. A high court of juſtice was erected on purpoſe for his trial, where he was tried and condemned for high treaſon againſt the Conſtitution; and was beheaded, one hundred years ago, at Whitehall, on the 30th of January. This action is much blamed; but, however,

however, if it had not happened, we had had no liberties left.

Vide Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son.

Debate on St. John Ernley's Meſſage.

" Whether upon a ſuſpicion of his being the author of a ſeditious " libel, it is, or is not, a breach of the privilege of the Houſe " of Commons, to ſeize upon the papers of a member of that " Houſe without information upon oath."

From Mr. Grey's debates, lately publiſhed, vol. 6. page 337.

Thurſday, December 19, 1678.

SIR John Ernley, chancellor of the Exchequer, acquainted the houſe, that he was commanded by the king to deliver this meſſage to them ;

" That his majeſty, having received information, that his late ambaſſador in France, Mr. Montagu, a member of this houſe, had held ſeveral private conferences with the pope's nuncio there, to the end that he may diſcover the truth of the matter, has given order for the ſeizing Mr. Montagu's papers."

Mr. Powle. No man can defend an ambaſſador's having correſpondences or conferences with the pope's nuncio. Montagu is a member of parliament ; and it is an old rule, that, in treaſon, no private man, nor member's perſon, can be ſeized before the accuſation be given in upon oath ; if not, any member may be taken from parliament. I would know whether any legal information has been given againſt your member. This was a fatal caſe in the laſt king's time of ſeizing members and their papers ; I hope never to ſee the like again. If a great miniſter has a quarrel againſt a gentleman, and one go and tell the king

a ſtory

a ſtory of him to his prejudice, and his papers thereupon muſt be ſeized, I know not whither that will go. In the firſt place, I would be inſtructed from Ernly, who brought the meſſage, whether there be any *legal information* againſt your member? and if there be not, then you may conſider what to do.

Sir J. Ernly. I have told you the meſſage as I received it.

Mr. Bennet. If his papers are ſeized, papers may be put into his cabinet as well as taken out.

Col. Birch. This is a mighty myſtery, and the greateſt buſineſs I have heard here. I have always taken it for granted, that no member's papers can be ſeized. Forty more members' papers may be ſeized at this rate, and the houſe garbled, and then the game is up.

Sir Tho. Lee. I ſee there is no harm in making an addreſs to the king about this matter, "that he may let the houſe know whether there is any *information upon oath* againſt Mr. Montagu." If there be ſuch information as the law warrants, I would ſit down under it; if not, I would look to our privileges.

Col. Titus. I ſecond that motion; if there be no *information upon oath*, then it is a breach of privilege.

Sir Wm. Coventry. An ambaſſador has nothing for his juſtification but his papers; and his neck may go for it, if he has not his papers to juſtify himſelf. I ſhould be loath to have my papers ſeized, though but for matter of reputation. I had rather have my ſhirt, than my papers, taken from me.

Mr. Powle. I purſue the firſt motion, to ſend to the king to know whether the "information be upon oath;" and when you have this anſwer, then to conſider, whether the

the papers ſhall be ſeized. Elſe you give up your rights to fatal conſequences.

Mr. Vaughan. If papers are ſeized *at this rate*, a great many of your members' papers may be ſeized, becauſe *ſome men* are guilty of high-treaſon.

Mr. Williams. I cannot give my opinion whether it is a breach of privilege or not, till you have the thing entirely before you. I would know what this information is againſt your member. I know by the law of England there is no diſtinction of ſtate-treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace, againſt which there is no privilege. It is not every breach of the peace a member may be ſeized upon, &c. where there is no more required than ſecurity, &c. and he ought to have the privilege of an Engliſhman. He that will be ridden, ſhall be ridden; therefore I would addreſs.

Col. Titus. If the information be upon oath, and it be neither treaſon, felony, nor breach of the peace, your privilege is violated.

Sir Wm. Coventry. I am againſt the whole thing, either ſending to the king to know what the crimes are, or whether upon oath. He may be guilty, he may be innocent; poſſibly the thing may be put farther. But to take away his armour that muſt defend him, a little thruſt will deſtroy him. The very law gives him his papers for his defence to juſtify himſelf by; his papers to be delivered out of his hands clearly away, is a very dangerous thing.

Mr. Montagu. I believe that the ſeizing my cabinet and papers was to get into their hand ſome letters of great conſequence, that I have to produce of the deſigns *of a great miniſter of ſtate.*

Col. Titus. To ſeize papers thus is very illegal. Any man's may be ſeized at this rate. I look upon this, as one

of

of the wiſeſt actions the miniſters have done. Were I one of them, right or wrong, I would have ſeized Mr. Montagu's papers.

Sir John Lowther. I am of opinion that we ſhall not ſit here to morrow; I move, therefore, to have the papers ſent for now.

Sir Henry Capel. I ſecond that motion. We know what practices have been in the late times, &c. how papers of members have been ſeized. The king has power on his ſubjects, but it is according to law. I know not what may become of us to-morrow; therefore I would have Montagu's papers brought to night.

Lord Cavendiſh and lord Ruſſel cloſed the debate for ſending for the papers; they were ſent for immediately, and among them two letters from Lord Danby to Mr. Montagu were found and read to the houſe; and upon them, the houſe immediately reſolved, that there was ſufficient matter of impeachment againſt the lord treaſurer; and he was accordingly impeached.

True Idea of Liberty.

FROM DR. BLACKWELL'S COURT OF AUGUSTUS.

LIBERTY the moſt manly and exalting of the gifts of heaven, conſiſts in a free and generous exerciſe of all the human faculties, as far as they are compatible with the good of ſociety to which we belong; and the moſt delicious part of the enjoyment of the ineſtimable bleſſing lies in a conſciouſneſs that we are free. The man, therefore, who is fully perſuaded that while he lives uprightly and innocently, the LAWS AND CONSTITUTION of his country will protect him, acquires *a cheerful confidence both*

in

in ſpeaking and acting: he repays the ſecurity not only of his life and property, but of the true taſte and enjoyment of life, with ſincere endeavours to promote its proſperity; he improves the ſtrength of every natural tye, ſuch as birth, eſtate, family and friends, and redoubles his affection to their COMMON GUARDIAN THE CONSTITUTION.

But if by any *fatal reverſe* his truſt in the laws be deſtroyed; if, on the contrary, he be conſcious, that he lies at the mercy of another man or ſet of men, who may *impriſon him, baniſh him, hang him*, and do with him and his family what they pleaſe with impunity, how diſmal is the turn that comes upon the temper of the mind; if his ſtation gives him acceſs *equal to the attempt*, no doubt he will do his utmoſt to pull down the enormous power. But if that be out of his reach, and he muſt bend his neck to the yoke, from that hour he changes both in his ſentiments and conduct; he turns cautious and fearful, and, by degrees, ſelfiſh, diſingenuous, and daſtardly: EVERY *word muſt be weighed* leſt it offend his maſters, and every public action ſet about with a thouſand *Egards*, (I muſt borrow a ſlaviſh term where our language happily affords none) leſt it give umbrage and draw upon him death and ſhame: THE NOBLE INDEPENDENT SPIRIT which ſhone in every ſentence of his diſcourſe, is now vaniſhed; no more quick and honeſt deciſions in favour of *right*, and condemnation of *wrong*, in what PERSON or *character ſoever* they were found: no more of the former generous diſintereſted procedure in his friends or his country's cauſe; he loſes his manly look, his abjectneſs increaſes with every year of ſlavery, and, in the end, he receives that *ſervile ſtamp* in his mind and manners, which made the great maſter of life pronounce the memorable ſentence, "that one day of ſervitude deſtroyed the better half of the human ſoul."

THE

THE RESURRECTION OF LIBERTY.

[Tune—*Heaving of the Lead.*]

By W. D. Grant.

'GAINST Equal Laws tho' placemen rail,
And by their malice ſhew their fear,
The Cause of Freedom will prevail!
Corruption's end approaches near.
Soon will each Britiſh harp be ſtrung,
And Joy proclaim by ev'ry tongue—
"Liberty's mine!"

Halcyon Peace will bleſs each hour,
And Truth, unaw'd, will freely ſpeak;
Then Greatneſs will but uſe her pow'r
To wipe the tear from Sorrow's cheek.
Then, &c.

Their long-loſt influence, once more
Will Love and Innocence regain;
Nor Fathers—Siſters—e'er deplore
Their hopes—their loves, untimely ſlain.
Then, &c.

Free from eccleſiaſtic pride,
And Superſtition's gloomy ſway;
Let Moral Juſtice be our guide
To uſher in unclouded Day!
Then will each Britiſh harp be ſtrung,
And joy proclaim by ev'ry tongue—
"Liberty's mine!"

MR. EDITOR,

GODWIN's GRAINS for EATON's WASH: a few of which may add to the Flavour and infuſe Senſe to the Swine.

Your's

HAMMABUS.

LAW and REFORMATION,

A Comment on a ſhort Paſſage in a uſeful Book.

"LAW, (ſays Godwin, in his Political Juſtice) we ſometimes call the *wiſdom* of our anceſtors. But "this is a ſtrange impoſition. It was as frequently the "dictate of their *paſſion*, of *timidity*, *jealouſy*, *a monopo-* "*liſing ſpirit*, *and a luſt of power that knew no bounds.*"— And how indeed ſhould it be otherwiſe? for, if our anceſtors were men (and, by their appearance, I ſuppoſe they were neither deities nor camels) they muſt of neceſſity have been ſubject to the errors and prejudices, the vices and follies of mankind. Some of them were undoubtedly like the preſent generation, *profeſſing patriots*, who betrayed the people as ſoon as they got into power; and others, the ready and proſtituted tools of every faction, that could ſeat itſelf in the poſt of honour and confidence. Some were prieſts, and tools of prieſts, who thought of no intereſt but the intereſts of ſuperſtition and impoſture, others were *military heroes*, who valued no virtue but the virtue of cutting people's throats, for being born in another country; and others, again, were lawyers, full of that monopolizing *eſprit du corps* which diſtinguiſhes that and, indeed, every other corporate profeſſion, and were more bent on making the law profitable to its adminiſtrators than beneficial to the people. All would be actuated by

by their reſpective feelings, and all would introduce, in ſome degree, their reſpective prejudices and errors, as well as their intereſted views. Law is therefore replete with the wiſdom, it is true, of our anceſtors; but it is alſo replete with their ignorance and their vices.

"Are we not obliged, then, (continues the above quoted author), perpetually to reviſe, and remodel this miſnamed wiſdom of our anceſtors—to correct it by a detection of their ignorance, and a condemnation of their intoleranee?" But how is this *correction* to be effected? If you would be guided by *precedent*, read (if you can) the waggon load of unintelligible folios which the laſt thirty or forty years have produced. If you would be guided by *reaſon*, examine your own heart, think of the conſtitution of human nature, and reflect how ſimple are the principles, and how frugal might be all the inſtitutions that are neceſſary to ſecure the intereſts of ſubſtantial juſtice. Stateſmen will ſtare at this (as they ſuppoſe) obſcure direction; but men of plain and uncorrupted underſtanding will immediately diſcover, from the meditation of theſe *data*, what are the ſteps that ought to be purſued for the reſtoration,—or rather for the eſtabliſhment, of upright and impartial juſtice. T.

MR. EDITOR,

As the preſent moment teems with ſtretches of unconſtitutional and arbitrary meaſures, in his Majeſty's Miniſters, I take the liberty, through your intelligent and uſeful publication, of cautioning my brother countrymen and fellow citizens, of placing too great confidence in the moſt depraved and unprincipled miniſtry which ever diſgraced a nation; and, at the ſame time urging them to take a retroſpective view of their paſt and preſent

ſent conduct, which will ſoon convince them, of having been the dupes of their iniquitous cunning, craft, and rapacity. And to induce ſuch enquiry among my fellow countrymen, I here ſubjoin the opinion of Lord Bolingbroke, extracted from a private letter to one of my family.

PRO PATRIA.

The Rights of the People.

IN a free country every ſubject has a ſhare in the government, and therefore every ſubject not only has a right, but is in duty bound to enquire into the manner juſtice is adminiſtered, and into the public meaſures purſued; becauſe, by ſuch enquiry, he may diſcover that ſome of the judgments, decrees, orders, and public meaſures, tend towards overturning the liberties of his country: and, by making ſuch a diſcovery in time, and acting ſtrenuouſly according to his ſtation, againſt them, he may diſappoint their effect.

Theſe enquiries ought to be made with the moſt perfect freedom, and even with jealouſy; for the *rights and liberties of the people* can never be overturned but by thoſe entruſted with power; and it is better that even an innocent man ſhould ſuffer, by an ill-grounded jealouſy, than that the *rights and liberties of the people* ſhould be deſtroyed by an extenſive and ridiculous confidence.

SONG FOR MECHANICS.

BY FRANCIS HOPKINSON, A.M. v. 4. 95.
OF PHILADELPHIA.

COME muſter, my lads, your mechanical tools,
Your ſaws and your axes, your hammers and rules,

Bring

Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,
And plenty of pins of American pine.
For our roof we will raiſe, and our ſong ſtill ſhall be
A goverment firm, and our citizens free.

Come up with the plates, lay them firm on the wall,
Like the people at large they are the ground-work of all;
Examine them well, and ſee that they're ſound,
Let no rotten part in our building be found.
For, &c.

Now hand up the girders, lay each in its place,
Between them the joiſts muſt divide all the ſpace;
Like aſſembly-men they ſhould lie level along,
Like girders our ſenate prove loyal and ſtrong,
For, &c.

The rafters now frame, your king-poſts and braces,
And drive your pins home to keep all in their places;
Let wiſdom and ſtrength in the fabric combine,
And your pins be all made of American pine.
For, &c.

Our king-poſts are judges, how upright they ſtand!
Supporting the braces—the laws of the land;
The laws of the land, which divide right from wrong,
And ſtrengthen the weak by weak'ning the ſtrong.
For our roof we will raiſe, and our ſong ſtill ſhall be,
Laws equal and juſt for a people's that's free.

Up! up with the rafters—each frame is a ſtate,
How nobly they riſe, their ſpleen too how great!

From

From the North to the South o'er the whole they extend,
And reſt on the walls while the walls they defend.
For our roof we will raiſe, and our ſong ſtill ſhall be
Combined in ſtrength, yet, as Citizens, free.

Now enter the purlins, and drive the pins through,
And ſee that your joints are drawn home and all true;
The purlins will bind all the rafters together,
And the ſtrength of the whole ſhall defy wind and weather.
For our roof we will raiſe, and our ſong ſtill ſhall be,
United as ſtates—but, as Citizens, free.

Come raiſe up the turret, our glory and pride,
In the centre it ſtands o'er the whole to preſide,
The ſons of Columbia ſhall view with delight
Its pillars and arches, and tow'ring height.
Our roof is now rais'd, and our ſong ſtill ſhall be
A fedral head o'er a people that's free.

Huzza! my brave boys, our work is complete,
The world ſhall admire Columbia's fair ſeat;
Its ſtrength againſt tempeſts and time ſhall be proof,
And thouſands ſhall come to dwell under its roof.
Whilſt we drain deep the bowl our toaſt ſtill ſhall be
Our government firm and our Citizens free.

HOGS' WASH.

THE praiſe of him, who talk'd ſo big
For training up one learned pig,
Is far below, friend Daniel, thine!

The

The feaſt of words, which you ſupply
To your illuminating ſtye,
Makes herds of literary ſwine.

A SPARERIB.

THE WRONGS OF POVERTY.

Occaſioned by the reading Strictures on the Practice of Impreſſing, in Mr. Cooper's Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective.

[*From the Cambridge Intelligencer, Aug.* 31, 1793.]

"Come, by whatever ſacred name diſguis'd,
"Oppreſſion come, and in thy works rejoice."

THOMSON.

AH! could Ambition's harden'd boſom feel,
She'd tear the blood-ſtain'd laurel from her brow;
Drop from her nerveleſs hand the murd'rous ſteel,
And trembling, at the throne of Juſtice bow.

There—in repentant ſighs, would ſhe confeſs
Her crimes, increas'd with time's advancing years;
But, ah! ſhe triumphs o'er the human race,
Still drinks the widow's and the orphan's tears.

See, at her call, the fiends of lawleſs pow'r,
Approach the peaſant's *unprotected* ſhed;
Intrude on weary labour's reſting hour,
And ſeek in night to hide the ruthleſs deed.

But keen-ey'd juſtice marks the guilty ſcene,
And pity hears the friendleſs ſuff'rer's cry;
While taught by Cooper's philanthropic pen,
The Muſe gives language to the victim's ſigh.

'In vain I liſten'd to the grateful theme,
'That 'tis a Briton's birthright to be free:
'In vain deluded by a flatt'ring dream,
'I hail'd the land of Law and Liberty.

'Tis mine, alas! the dire reverſe to prove,
'To ſhare the captive's, or the felon's lot;
'Torn from the ſoothing ſmiles of virtuous love,
'And all the joys that cheer'd my humble cot.

'No more at eve my pratt'ling babes repair,
'To greet their Sire, his daily labour done:
'But now, defrauded of a father's care,
'Some niggard hand may deal the ſcanty boon.

'Tis mine, alas! to wage the bloody fight
'Againſt a brother-man, no foe to me;
'For pow'r controuls the feeble voice of right,
'And "State neceſſity," the *tyrant's* plea.

'Yet to HIS throne ſhall all my ſorrows riſe,
'Who looks on mortals with an equal eye;
'Detects oppreſſion through each artful guiſe,
'And hears the captive's unregarded ſigh.

'Yet may the angel Peace from heav'n deſcend,
'And ſave the victims of Ambition's rage;
'The cauſe of man in ev'ry clime befriend,
'And bring the bleſſings of the promis'd age.'

MR. EDITOR,

The following ſtanza came a few days ago into my trencher, with ſome of the tid bits which I ſent you, and find you have caſt them into the hog trough, in order that the ſwine, in the "Stye of Taxation," might not be quite ſtarved. If you think this worth throwing in with the next courſe, you will pleaſe to recollect, it came from a correſpondent, and

A Free-born Briton.

The F——h are engag'd in a cauſe that is juſt;
Their freedom's at ſtake—and conquer they muſt:
"We will conquer or die," are the words they pronounce,
"We will either be beat, or our foes we will trounce."

In hopes of ſeeing and hearing theſe things realized, I with pleaſure ſend them, that my fellow ſwine may, at leaſt in thought, anticipate ſo great a bleſſing.

Your's

PETER PICKLE.

HARK! the joyful trumpets ſound,
When Princes are no more,
And happineſs is ſpread around,
As it has been before.

When men no more ſhall kiſs the chain
That did their ſpirits drown;
Nor whining flatterers maintain
The pleaſure of a c———. B. T.

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BIOGRAPHY.

MR. EDITOR,

As ſome of the Swiniſh Multitude, who, in an hour of popular frenzy, plunged themſelves into the *polluted ſtream* of loyalty, have happily eſcaped from the vortex of deſtruction, and recovered their ſenſes; and as many others are daily reaching the *ſhore of reaſon*, and panting for the enjoyment of the RIGHTS of MAN and COMMON SENSE, the following Biographical Sketch of Mr. R——ves, and Reflections on the Knaves-acre Aſſociation, may prove acceptable.

Yours, &c.
ONE OF THE HERD.

THE *immediate* birth and parentage of this patriot-citizen are inveloped in myſterious darkneſs, although he can trace his genealogy from the remoteſt ages of antiquity, being deſcended from the moſt ancient and reſpectable of all families;—the SANS CULOTTES. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed

indeed, that his late conduct does not demonſtrate any very great affection or veneration for his anceſtors; but ſhould the family ever riſe to that *proud equality*, to which, in a neighbouring nation, *it aſpires*, he poſſeſſes a happy accommodating venality, that cannot fail to enſure him impunity and pardon from his *relations*.

Mr. R—ves appears to have made his *debut* in the political world, at the time of Admiral Keppel's trial, when he compoſed an elegant panegyrical poem, in honour of that gallant officer. Poetry delights in fiction, and, at that period, our poet indulged his muſe in the bittereſt invectives againſt his M-j—ty's g-v—m-t, for which heinous tranſgreſſion he has ſince made liberal compenſation, by a contrary example of well-timed and moſt fervent loyalty.

The noble minded H—kſb-ry is known, whenever it ſuits his purpoſe to exert it, to inherit the happieſt and moſt extraordinary genius, in working metamorphoſes on the human mind. He has, moreover, a kind of peculiar inſtinct, a *manual touch*, whereby he inſtantly diſcovers *thoſe pliant ſupple diſpoſitions*, that any ways ſympathiſe with his own: By this ſympathy, however far aſunder their original diſtance, theſe congenial ſouls were drawn together, and by the power of a *preparation*, ſince known by the name of *Pitt's Specific*, they were united in one common cauſe. The times were deemed critical, and critical ſervices were required. A very few minutes converſation was all ſufficient to explain mutual intentions, and the uſual forms of delicacy and etiquette complied with, under the all puiſſant recommendation of his noble patron, our *poetical* SANS CULOTTES, (for ſuch then, he almoſt literally was) was introduced to the m—t—r as a *perfect maſter of all work; ready for any ſervice;* only

ſubject

ſubject to one reſtriction; he never ſerved *gratis:* The *journeyman* is worthy of his hire. It was neither expected or deſired that he ſhould; the PATRIOTISM of Mr. R—ves, like that of his MASTER, derives recruited zeal in proportion to the rewards beſtowed on it, and when wages are abundantly paid, ſervility is more certain. His pulſe was accordingly felt, and it beat in perfect uniſon; ſo that now no longer a SANS CULOTTES, he was at once put in poſſeſſion of an income, the fruit of anticipated ſervices, to the amount of 2000l. per annum; and, amongſt other *precious ſinecures that he holds*, he is Chief Juſtice of Newfoundland, the ſalary of which is ſaid to be *only* 1000l. per annum, although there cannot be any duties annexed to this appointment, requiring a local reſidence, ſince he himſelf is ſo ACTIVELY and ſo HONOURABLY employed in the *adminiſtration of juſtice at home.*

A *gentleman*, thus reſpectable in fortune and connections, independent of the nation, if not of the court, was in every point of view a fit arbiter of the property and liberties of Engliſhmen, and peculiarly qualified to defend them againſt the ſo much dreaded violence of levellers and republicans. Our MINISTER, therefore, of implicit confidence, gave him his cue. The bait well gilded was thrown out. John Bull, as uſual, bit freely: the Crown and Anchor became the focus of loyalty; within that centre all the *confidence* of the kingdom was collected, and Mr. R—ves's aſſociation gave birth to thoſe patriotic prodigies we have witneſſed; thoſe ALIEN BILLS, and TREASONABLE BILLS; to thoſe *ſeaſonable* and *humane proſecutions* againſt Independent Clergymen, Barriſters, Patriotic Bookſellers, Printers, and even Bill-ſtickers, &c. whereby the preſs is wiſely monopolized by two branches of the legiſlature, to the excluſion of the other, and the

crown

crown acquires an addition of prerogative, that muſt for ever ſecure it againſt all danger of Plebeian invaſion. He is the idol of P—tt, the *friend* of H—kſb-ry: with theirs, his name will be tranſmited *pure* to poſterity.

Mr. R—ves, to his other tried virtues, adds the moſt amiable candour and untainted veracity. He declares 'that he is *perfectly ſatisfied* with the ſtate of the nation, and that every other perſon *ought* to be ſatisfied alſo;' yet, if it be fair to judge from the London Gazette, the Gazette de la Cour, of *ſacred authority*, from the tremendous liſt of bankruptcies there announced, a part of the mercantile world *is not* perfectly ſatisfied with the ACTUAL STATE OF THINGS; but when a *gentleman*, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the conſiſtency and independence of his principles, than for the *pure nature* and extent of his ſervices, thus deigns to announce *his* ſatisfaction, it would be equal hereſy and ingratitude in the people, were they heard to murmur or repine.—In his accurate and impartial definition of the laws; in the energy and vigour he has infuſed into our councils; correcting popular errors; cruſhing the ſedition of diſaffected reformers--for his *virtuous* example in receiving and propagating anonymous calumny as a ground of criminal proſecution; and calling forth all the latent patriotiſm in the country, ſtill further to extend the increaſed and increaſing influence of the c—wn, as ſolemnly recognized by a vote of parliament, he alſo extorts our *confidence* and *gratitude*; and it muſt reflect immortal glory on the preſent age:—the bright example will flouriſh a perennial monument of the *ſenſibility*, *conſiſtency*, and *wiſdom* of Engliſhmen, that in the year 1793 of the Chriſtian æra, J—n R—ves, *Eſquire*, wrought a total change in our national character—that it was a hireling I-f—m-r

who

who modified, and gave an entire new bias to the political ſyſtem of the B—t-ſh G-v—m—t.

Having thus ſketched the out-lines of a character as *d—p-c-ble* and *contemptible* as it is poſſible to imagine, let us turn our attention to the *diſintereſted* and *patriotic* ſociety at the Crown and Anchor, raiſed and foſtered up by his paternal care—for the purpoſe of rendering the edifice of our government, *ſtill more beautiful and ſtrikingly grand*, by the addition of a fourth department to the ſtate, conſiſting of placemen and penſioners, pariſh officers, and police magiſtrates, and other equally *independent* friends of the Court, arrogating to themſelves the conſtitutional juriſdiction of licenſing the preſs, denouncing to the S-c-t-ry of S—te, or to *the* Att—n— G-n-r-l, all publications that do not exactly quadrate with thoſe doctrines which it is their *duty* and *intereſt* to promulgate; and the mode that they adopt, in order to enforce theſe *truths*, cannot be applauded with more gratitude than it deſerves, and which in juſtice, it muſt be acknowledged, hitherto to have received. They publiſh their own doctrines, as ORTHODOX LAW, although aſſerting the antient and once exploded maxim, in England, of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and DIVINE RIGHT, and therefore repugnant to the ſpirit of KING WILLIAM's *glorious* and *immortal* REVOLUTION, which, notwithſtanding, they profeſs to revere, as the baſis of their political creed, and they circulate theſe loyal pamphlets of their applauſe, with a zeal and expence (*doubtleſs at their own charge*) that reflect infinite honour on their liberality; while, at the ſame time, their candour is equally admirable, proſecuting every bookſeller, printer, or hawker, who is daring or *ignorant* enough, to publiſh doctrines

mili-

militating againſt their own. '*Audi alteram partem*,' was formerly reckoned an eſſential principle, or rather an integral part of argumentative diſcuſſion, indiſpenſibly requiſite to the diſcovery of truth; but this *worthy* aſſociation not finding it convenient to their patriotic views, have laid it aſide leſt it might enlighten and raiſe the SWINISH MULTITUDE, above the level of their native ignorance, and hence they have prohibited all books, whoſe doctrines do not tally with thoſe protected by themſelves, under the moſt terrible penalties of FINE, PILLORY, and IMPRISONMENT. From this *juſt*, *prudent*, and *conſtitutional* monopoly, by which, publicans are alſo inſtructed in their duty:—what newſpapers they muſt allow their cuſtomers to read, and what converſation they are permitted to hold; COMMON SENSE, TRUTH, and the RIGHTS of MAN, are baniſhed from our houſes, and the LORD's ANOINTED ſubſtituted in their place.

What a conſummate politician is JOHN BULL, happy in his *implicit confidence*, always in the *right box*. Well indeed may he rejoice, when now, as a recompenſe for the ſurrender of COMMON SENSE and the RIGHTS of MAN, he gains in exchange, the immediate and tutelary protection of the LORD's ANOINTED, G——e III.

But, to be ſerious, perſecution of opinions is always ineffectual, and ſometimes dangerous. Attempts to modify the mind of one perſon, agreeably with the fancy or caprice of another, muſt be ever vain and nugatory. Perſecute or torture truth as you will, it will in the end prevail. The capital crimes of two Britiſh martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, conſiſted in circulating Engliſh Bibles; and when, for this *abominable hereſy*, theſe two champions of Proteſtantiſm were burnt at Oxford, one of them exhorted

horted the other as follows: 'Brother, be of good com-
'fort, our perſecutors will be diſappointed; for, our ſuf-
'ferings will lead men to enquire into that for which we
'ſuffered; and this fire will light ſuch a candle in Eng-
'land, as I truſt in God's grace, will never be extin-
'guiſhed.'

It is needleſs to obſerve, that Popery was very ſoon afterward deſtroyed in Britain, that the Bible ſtill continues to be read in Engliſh in all our churches, and that the religion of thoſe two inflexible martyrs, is ſtill our national faith. Have we not as good reaſon to believe that the preſent ſyſtem of unconſtitutional perſecution will terminate in eſtabliſhing the *Rights of Man* and *Common Senſe* amongſt us; ſeeing perſecution is and ever will be the parent and nurſe of enthuſiaſm?

POLITICAL CONSISTENCY.

Mr. EDITOR,

Having been long in the habit of reading Political Tracts, I have been lately much ſtruck with the *inconſiſtency* and *apoſtacy* of ſome of my former favourite authors. I am, therefore, if you give me encouragement, by inſerting this in you publication, determined occaſionally to expoſe them; and I ſhall begin with Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG.

Your conſtant Reade
A LEARNED PIG.

In the Annals of Agriculture, I find the following Letter and Queries from Mr. Capel Lofft to *Mr. Young*:

"DEAR SIR,

"YOU have often, and with ſucceſs, invited diſcuſſions in the Annals, on ſubjects immediately or conſequentially

quentially affecting Agriculture. Will you approve the wiſh of propoſing the following queries?

" 1. What number of agriculturiſts, in the ſeveral counties of this iſland, may be computed to be without a vote in the choice of repreſentatives?

" 2. What effect may this deficiency of repreſentation be reaſonably regarded as having, relative to agricultural intereſts?

" 3. What influence, in this reſpect, ought to be aſcribed to the ſeptennial duration of parliaments?

" 4. Are the intereſts of agriculture, at preſent, underſtood and regarded in parliament in proportion to their national importance?

" 5. Is it probable that a reform in the election and duration of parliaments, or either, would cauſe them to be regarded?

" 6. What reform in the repreſentation would be moſt conducive to this effect?

" 7. What mode and circumſtances of election?

" 8. What duration of parliaments?

" 9. Is this a fit ſeaſon for ſuch reform?

" Thoſe who are directly engaged in agriculture, either as *owners*, occupiers, or *huſbandmen*, form ſo great a part of the nation, that a view of the ſubject, as it reſpects them, will give a very general inſight into its principles and tendency.

" I am perſuaded you will not concur with ſome, who think this queſtion cannot be diſcuſſed *without diſordering the peace of the nation*, and *endangering the exiſtence of the conſtitution*: on the contrary, I am certain there are thoſe very friendly to both, who look to ſuch an inquiry as the very means of preventing violent and precipitate meaſures,

meaſures, promoting confidence and tranquility, and preſerving the conſtitution."

To this Letter Mr. Young returned the following Anſwer.

"SIR,

"BEFORE any attempt to anſwer Mr. Lofft's very pertinent queries it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that whatever apparent weight, by repreſentation, the agriculturiſts, or any of the lower orders of the ſtate, may have in the legiſlature, it is ſo utterly abſorbed, and rendered void by the ſuperior influence of the crown and peerage, in the houſe of Commons that a calculation, even of the number of agriculturiſts, who actually have votes, muſt, by no means, be conſidered as a *datum* for an eſtimate of their real conſequence in that houſe. While the crown and peerage act in concert, the government of this country is virtually an ariſtocracy; and I fear it is approaching faſt to the ſituation predicted of it, by the celebrated Monteſquieu, "Il perira lorſque la puiſſance legiatative ſere plus corromque que l'executrice." Eſprit des Loix, tom. i. p. 324. *The lower orders, of courſe, lie at the mercy of the government*, until the middle claſs of citizens ſhall aſſert its conſequence, and obtain its natural level in the conſtitution; a circumſtance as deſirable and eſſential to the general intereſts of the nation at large, as it is to the real and durable intereſts of the crown and peerage in particular. By the middle claſs of citizens, I mean thoſe men poſſeſſed of property from the ſmalleſt portion, to a moderate degree of affluence; and this claſs may be defined, as ending where the real *utility* and *elegance* of life give place to its faſtidious pleaſures, magnificence, and pageantry; which laſt are only within the reach of ſuch as are aptly called overgrown fortunes.

This

This middle claſs includes all the inferior gentry, the yeomanry, and farmers, with nearly the whole of the manufacturing and commercial men in the kingdom. This claſs, then, conſtitutes the body of the ſtate, in the aggregate of its numbers and property; and if the crown and ariſtocracy, or head of the ſtate, will obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to legiſlate, in union with the body, where will be the barrier of their defence, from the loweſt members, in any extremity of danger and public convulſion, which the hiſtory of mankind, in all ages and nations, teaches us, are almoſt periodically to be expected, as the blazing eccentric comets of the political hemiſphere? What an awful warning our neighbour France preſents to the towering pride of the great men of the earth: the monarchy and nobility of that kingdom, the moſt powerful and numerous in the world, could not *reſiſt* the ſhock of contending-political-elements, but have now fallen victims to the want of union and concord with the middle claſs, or body of the ſtate."

"*Replies to Mr. Lofft's Queries.*

"1. I think there are at leaſt, one million of agriculturiſts in this iſland (including labourers, to whom I preſume, the query extends) without a vote in the choice of repreſentatives: theſe, with their families, amount to more than five millions of ſouls, or above the one half of the whole population of the country.

"2. This deficiency of repreſentation, has certainly the effect of diminiſhing the conſequence of that which, in common ſenſe and policy, ought to be the firſt concern in the ſtate; it follows then that the real intereſts of the agriculture of the kingdom, are very little regarded or known in the Houſe of Commons.

"3. As

"3. As the Houſe of Commons is *now* conſtituted, it matters not to the agriculturiſts of this nation, whether the duration of parliaments be *ſeptennial* or *ſeptuageſimal*; perh aps it would be better if there were none at all.

"4. The intereſts of agriculture are certainly not at all underſtood and regarded in parliament: witneſs the duration of tythes, the influence they and the manorial claims have in preventing the incloſures of commons, now utterly uſeleſs to the community; alſo the enormous expence and trouble of applications to parliament for that purpoſe: in addition to theſe diſcouragements, ſufficient of themſelves to proſcribe and deſtroy the plough, as if it were an implement of no uſe or value; has not an act been recently paſſed, by which the American farmer, with very trifling rents and taxes, and tythe free, is allowed a competition with the Britiſh farmer in his own markets, though he is crippled as above ſtated. Yet the Britiſh farmer is no advocate for a monopoly, and is ready to allow, that the people of England have a good right to be ſupplied with corn at a moderate price; take off his ſhackles, and the Britiſh farmer will have the advantage in competition with any farmer upon earth, with a free corn trade. Perhaps the beſt anſwer to this query may be given by ſtating theſe plain facts: an annual import of foreign grain to a vaſt amount:—ten millions of acres of uncultivated land, waiting only for the *fiat* of the legiſlature, to enable Ceres, with her golden harveſts, to triumph over the chaotic reign of heath, and whins, and mutton-bones. If the ſenators of Great Britain did not love *racing* and *fox-hunting* better than the *plough*, could theſe things exiſt? I am here reminded of our good Editor's remarks on the poor peaſants of Laincourt, who were

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actually incloſing and cultivating the Duke's waſtes for their own uſe.—[*See his Travels in France, p.* 266.]

" 5. It is very probable, that a prudent reform, in the election and duration of parliaments, would ſecure to the intereſts of agriculture their proper attention.

" 6. Let the houſe of commons conſiſt of five hundred repreſentatives for the counties of this iſland; the number for each county to be proportioned to its extent and population.

" 7. Let every pariſh, or ſmall diſtrict in the county, ſend a deputy reſident in ſuch pariſh or ſmall diſtrict, to the county town, the deputy to be choſen by *ballot*, in a meeting of the men of the pariſh or diſtrict above the age of twenty-one years. No perſon to declare himſelf a candidate for this office, or to canvaſs, bribe, or otherwiſe endeavour to obtain votes, on pain of impriſonment, and confiſcation of effects. The deputies of the pariſhes or diſtricts, thus elected, to aſſemble as ſoon as poſſible, after their election at the county town, to proceed to the election of the repreſentatives for their county in parliament. Let the deputies, when aſſembled, chuſe a preſident, the preſident immediately nominating, with conſent of the aſſembly, a committee of ſix deputies, who, after ſuch nomination, ſhall *out* of the place of aſſembly, make out a liſt of ſuch of the ſaid deputies of pariſhes, or diſtricts, as they deem moſt proper to repreſent the county in parliament; the preſident to read over the liſt to the aſſembly, after which, each perſon on the liſt ſhall be ſeverally voted for by *ballot*. On all occaſions of equality of number, &c. &c.

" 8. The duration of parliaments to be triennial.

" 9. *All ſeaſons are fit for reform*, and the preſent is particularly ſo: a wiſe man, in proſperity, will ever endeavour to ſecure himſelf againſt the return of adverſity, in the

the beſt manner he is able; and will not, by a dangerous ſecurity, delay a ſalutary deſign.

In this letter, though we may not agree with Mr. Young in all his ideas, yet we diſcover a mind apparently fully convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of a ſpeedy and effectual reform in the repreſentative ſyſtem. How ſtrange muſt it appear to a candid and impartial obſerver, to find this ſame writer, in a late publication, uſing the following language,

"It is mere theory to ſuppoſe that the Houſe of Commons purports to be the repreſentatives of the people, if by repreſentation is meant choice. Being once choſen by the few, they repreſent the many. They purport to be nothing more than what they are; and they are nothing more than this —Men ſitting in a Senate, and forming a third branch of the legiſlature, choſen by certain bodies, who, by the Conſtitution, have the privilege of electing them. They may be accurately deſcribed without uſing the word, or referring to the idea of, Repreſentation. To call them the Repreſentatives of the People, is a very inaccurate mode of expreſſion; they ought never to be called by any other name than the Houſe of Commons, to diſtinguiſh them from the Houſe of Lords. If they were really the Repreſentatives of the People, they might in theory be good, or better; but they would be ſomething elſe than what they are, and conſequently different from that which has rendered us a *great*, a *free*, and a *happy* nation.

"But there is not the leaſt reaſon to think that they were ever deemed the Repreſentatives of the People; certainly not the knights, for the 40s. qualification of electors, the value of money conſidered, was nearly 40l of preſent money. The notion of repreſentation, and delegation of rights and privileges from the electors, has vitiated and

turned

turned to confuſion ſo many ideas on the ſubject, becauſe Writers and Parliaments themſelves, to ſuit the purpoſes of a moment, have thought it for their intereſt to be eſteemed ſomething different than what they really are. The electors of Members of Parliament do not delegate power, nor intruſt privileges, if, by delegation, is meant the transfer of ſomething poſſeſſed by thoſe who depute; for, the electors have neither thoſe powers nor thoſe privileges, and therefore cannot delegate them. But the Members when elected, and, in combination with the other branches of the legiſlature, aſſume and poſſeſs, and give themſelves ſuch powers and privileges, which thoſe did not poſſeſs who ſent them. Hence, then, the ſeptennial act was juſt as conſtitutional as the biennial.

"The proſperity and happineſs we have enjoyed for a century, and never ſo great as at preſent, is owing preciſely to the Houſe of Commons NOT ſpeaking the will of the people; and, I am founded in the fact, ſo notorious to all the world, that ſuch proſperity has grown to its preſent height under the influence of a Houſe elected not by perſons, but by property. If a parliament, ſpeaking therefore not the voice of the people, has made us what we are; and if National Aſſemblies, ſpeaking the voice of the people, have brought France to her preſent ſituation, I have a double experiment to ſupport me in the aſſertion, —that reforming, or changing, the Conſtitution of our Houſe of Commons, ſo as to make it ſpeak ſome new voice, untried in this kingdom, would be a procedure on theory, and worthy of theoriſts only.

"It appears to me, that there would be a ſingular propriety in the aſſociations which are at preſent ſpreading through the kingdom, petitioning parliament to paſs an act, to declare all clubs, aſſociations, ſocieties, and meetings

ings of men, that aſſemble for the purpoſe of obtaining changes in the Conſtitution, illegal.

"The concluſion may be compreſſed in a few lines: the danger of the moment is great indeed; and only to be guarded againſt by the moſt unremitted diligence and activity:—exert that diligence, and bring that activity into play, by an unanimous ſupport of the adminiſtration entruſted at preſent with the public ſafety: the queſtion is not, whether you are a friend or an enemy of that adminiſtration; you are certainly a friend to the lives and properties of mankind. Join in aſſociations for our defence, againſt banditti, cut-throats, and Jacobins; join againſt an enemy more ſubtle, and therefore more dangerous, the friends of reform; the aſſociators, who would plant the tree of equal liberty; the Mountebanks who have a French noſtrum, and Birmingham daggers, for the diſeaſes of our Engliſh Conſtitution. Guard againſt ſuch miſcreant attempts by pointed reſolutions; and call with one voice, on the legiſlature to ſuppreſs, by vigorous and deciſive laws, the clubs of ſedition; the aſſociations that call themſelves our "Conſtitutional" Inſtructors, and our friends; whoſe leſſons are inſtitutes of anarchy; and whoſe friendſhip, ſhould their tenets prevail, would cement with our beſt blood, that National Convention of Britain with which thoſe ſocieties have ſo lately threatened us."

'*Example of France a Warning to Britain.*'

LANDING OF FOREIGN TROOPS.

AWAKE, O BRITONS! LIFT UP YOUR EYES AND SEE!

THE late Lord Chatham ſtated in the Houſe of Commons, that any Miniſter who would be baſe enough to adviſe or countenance the employment of *Foreign Troops* in

in this kingdom, without the conſent of Parliament, deſerved to be IMPEACHED.—*His ſon*, the preſent immaculate miniſter, and *late Member* of the Society held at the Thatched Houſe Tavern, in 1782, for the purpoſe of obtaing a THOROUGH Parliamentary Reform, ſtands up in the Houſe and tells you, it is the KING's PREROGATIVE to land what foreign troops HE *pleaſes* in a time of war. It would be civil in Mr. Pitt, at leaſt to inform us *where* and *when* the act of Parliament was made, that introduced ſo monſtrous an *innovation* into our Conſtitution.

But explanations are now unneceſſary: *conſiſtency* is no longer looked for; and a DEAD MAJORITY requires but little reaſoning to.

(*To be continued.*)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE return our thanks for the numerous favours we have received on the ſubject of the late Faſt. Our different Correſpondents will, however, acknowledge the propriety of keeping back part of them: many of them were ſimilar: it was therefore impoſſible to bring them all before the Public.—MEN OF GENIUS THINK ALIKE.

We are ſorry to ſay, though we approve of the ſubject, that the lines from D. MASONRY are too imperfect for inſertion.

VESPUCULUS, CROMWELL, and PENETENTIUS, are received, and ſhall be attended to.

We ſhall be exceeding happy for the further communications of BRUTUS, OLD HUBERT, The LEARNED PIG, PORKULUS, PENETENTIUS, E. Y, &c.

Every communication, poſt paid, or ſent in any other manner, to D. I. EATON, No. 74, Newgate-ſtreet, directed for the Editors of POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE, will be duly attended to.

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1794.

On the Seizure of Papers.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

TREASON, in the general nature of it, muſt be the crime of *many*. It implies plots and conſpiracies, which are carrying on by correſpondence, and are to be diſcovered by *papers*. The ſafety of the ſtate, which is ſuperior to every other conſideration, makes it neceſſary to uſe all poſſible means to unmaſk the machinations of *treaſon*, that the dreadful effects may be prevented. *Papers* therefore may be ſeized and letters intercepted, as arms, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores may be ſecured, that the ſinews of rebellion may be cut. This is the ſole reaſon and the end of ſeizing papers in a treaſonable caſe. Although they

they may afterwards be uſed as proofs of ſuch *overt acts* of treaſon as they are connected with, or bear relation to, ſo as to make them be conſidered as a part of the proſecution of the ſame *treaſonable* purpoſes; yet, ſurely it cannot be law, even in caſes of *treaſon*, nor (we hope) ever was law, with any but ſuch a judge as Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffries*, that papers found in a man's cloſet, *not publiſhed*, and unconnected with every thing but themſelves, can conſtitute a crime, or be brought as a proof of guilt.

What *does*, however, hold in *treaſon*, will not take place in other caſes. There is a certain neceſſary rigour and ſeverity in the laws of *treaſon*, which would be cruelty if extended to other crimes. Many things are allowed in the caſe of treaſon, that, if applied to other matters, would be more miſchievous in their conſequences than the things they were intended to prevent.

It is treaſon to compaſs or imagine (as it is called) or, in plain Engliſh, to contrive or intend, the death of the king, if it can be proved by any overt act; and it could not be more than treaſon actually to put the ſovereign to death. It is not however murder, *in foro humano*, to intend, or even to attempt to kill another man. There is therefore no example to be drawn from what *is* or *may be* done in caſes of treaſon, to any other caſe, and none can be more unſimilar to that of libels.

Publication is eſſential to a libel, and the criminality is intrinſic in itſelf. The offence and the effects of it, both ſtand upon the libel *alone*, unconnected with any other thing whatſoever. There is not therefore the leaſt colour of danger or neceſſity to plead for breaking through any right, or any privilege of the ſubject, for the ſake of diſcovery or prevention, in ſuch a caſe; much leſs to trample upon thoſe rights that are the moſt ſacred and inviolable,

violable, and the conſequences of injuring them pernicious beyond expreſſion. The evil is great; the miſchief apparent. The utility and good is nothing, or ſo inconſiderable as to be no object at all.

To the mercy of *any* government even convicts may have ſome claim; the benignity of *ours*, guilt itſelf cannot forfeit. Its ſuavity and mildneſs, in proſecutions and trials, can be denied, or interrupted to none. Suſpicion or accuſation do not annul the rights of innocence, nor rob the ſubject either of the protection or favour of the laws. The *lenity* of juſtice is, in England, its *dignity*. Fair trials, and *gentle* proſecutions, are the peculiar glory of this country; and no man ſhould be deprived of any benefit or advantage that his own ſilence, or the ſecrecy of papers *not publiſhed* can afford, to protect him againſt conviction. As he can keep his mouth ſhut, ſo his privacies ought to be ſacred, and his repoſitories ſecure.

But if the partitions of a man's cloſet (which is but another boſom) are to be wantonly broke down, on every ſlight pretence or trivial occaſion, and what lies there locked up in ſecrecy, things that the world never ſaw, and no man has a right to look upon, are to be expoſed at the humour or malice of every, perhaps, trading juſtice of peace (for ſo far it goes) let the moſt partial determine what muſt be the conſequences. There is an END of LIBERTY, an end of confidence amongſt mankind. A ſevere reſtraint is laid upon friendſhip and correſpondence, and even upon the freedom of thought. In ſhort, a FATAL BLOW is given to the moſt precious and valuable rights of mankind, to the faireſt privileges of ſociety. The thing is big with miſchiefs innumerable and inconceivable; the leaſt of them not to be laid in the balance with all the danger of any *libel* the moſt ſeditious that can

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publiſhed, or with any thing leſs than *high treaſon* itſelf, which does, and juſtly ought, to overcome all rights whatſoever of any individual, be the conſequences what they may. If care is taken in that caſe, that no harm be done which can poſſibly be avoided, nor any unneceſſary hardſhips inflicted, it is all that can be expected; and as much as ought to be required.

Precedents of ſeizing the papers of printers and publiſhers, are comparatively ſcarce worthy having any notice taken of them in a juſt and accurate conſideration of this ſubject. The papers and repoſitories of every private perſon ſtand upon a very different footing. If among *theſe* any diſtinction can be made, it is due to the caſe of *Members of Parliament*, for the ſake of their TRUST; and of the intereſt their conſtituents have in their freedom, ſecurity, and independency. On theſe all our valuable rights depend, and they cannot be expoſed to a greater or more dangerous INFRINGEMENT than an undue ſeizure of Papers. It has always, for this reaſon, been the great *object of the Houſe of Commons*, to protect the Members of Parliament from ſuch illegal invaſions.

The public may, perhaps, be thought to have ſome more power over thoſe who are a ſort of ſervants of the public than over *private* perſons. Profeſſed publiſhers (in the caſe of publications) are a ſort of public perſons. Their ſhops and offices are in ſome ſenſe, and to a limited degree, the houſes of the public.

Theſe kind of people, however, all the world knows, are ſoon frightened, and intimidation ſpeedily checks them. Miniſters know it; and therefore they uſe it without ſcruple and without mercy, when *they* think fit. How far that is conſiſtent with the Liberty of the Preſs, or for the advantages of the public, is another queſtion.

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The authority of a ſecretary of ſtate, even a hint from the office, and much more apprehenſions, examinations, and menaces, will ſoon conquer theſe poor men's ideas of liberty, and make them fond to redeem themſelves. They are very ready to purchaſe exemption from a hard, expenſive, and dangerous proſecution, directed by power, and carried on from the public purſe, at the expence of ſubmitting to acts illegal and oppreſſive, for which a court of law and an Engliſh jury would give ample redreſs and ſatisfaction. No ſtreſs whatever can therefore be laid on ſuch inſtances, if any can be cited; but at any rate precedents of *fact* are not at all, or in any caſe, to be regarded. LEGAL PRECEDENTS are thoſe whoſe authority ſtands upon trial and judicial deciſions of courts of law, in *times of Liberty and Juſtice.*

If there have been any examples of undue ſeizure of papers, ſo far from being precedents to *juſtify*, or even to excuſe the practice, they afford the ſtrongeſt reaſon in the world for giving a timely and effectual check to it; that it may no longer continue to be the *grief* and *burden* of the ſubject.

Precedents which have the *ſhew* of authority, fromthe ſanction of courts, though of arbitrary and unjuſt judges, in times too of tyranny and oppreſſion, can only be mentioned to be ſcorned and inveighed againſt, in days of *Liberty* and *Juſtice*; or to be ſet up as beacons to warn againſt the ſhipwrecks, which the rocks and quickſands of arbitrary power have occaſioned in former ages.

But in the halcyon days of LIBERTY, when *juſtice* is adminiſtered with *purity*, care will be had to avoid precedents of *ſeeming* authority, to give to proceedings that are *arbitrary* and oppreſſive, the appearance of being *legal.* It is the more neceſſary to do it, becauſe precedents of

ſuch

ſuch times will have weight from the character of the times. Bad and illegal precedents of *fact* cannot be too ſoon, nor too ſeverely corrected ; not only for the honour of the government and the preſent ſecurity of the ſubject, but that they may not remain to be quoted in ſucceeding and in worſe times, if ſuch ſhall ever be the curſe of this country, except as authorities *againſt* any attempt to imitate the practices formerly condemned, and effectually to prevent their being renewed or repeated.

Every TRUE FRIEND of LIBERTY therefore will anxiouſly deſire to ſee this queſtion have a fair trial, that he may know exactly how the law ſtands, and be fully apprized of his danger ; ſo that all may provide againſt it the beſt they can. If on every pretence or ſuſpicion of a libel, or of what, not only a ſecretary of ſtate, but the loweſt magiſtrates of the peace, may pleaſe to deem one, in which *Politics*, *Party Prejudice*, and *Reſentment*, will always have a great influence, our Houſes, and our Friend's Houſes, are to be open at all hours and under all circumſtances, to every prowling officer of the crown, actuated by curioſity, intereſt, deſign, or revenge, he will be the wiſeſt man that correſponds the leaſt with others, and the moſt prudent who writes very little, and keeps as few papers as he can by him. None but a fool in this caſe will have any ſecrets at all in his poſſeſſion.

That no ſuch *badge of ſlavery* does *yet* exiſt in this country is ſtill believed. That it never may exiſt will naturally be the wiſh of every Engliſhman. The expectations of Liberty are, that if the late moſt extraordinary, and, as it is thought, unprecedented and illegal ſeizure of Papers produces a legal trial, it will be found to have been manifeſtly AGAINST LAW ; and that all the ſubjects of this kingdom will have the ſatisfaction to be aſſured,

aſſured, by a judicial determination, that as their Houſes are their ſanctuaries, their Cloſets are the ſanctum ſanctorum of that ſanctuary.

I am

Your Lordſhips', &c.

ON THE WAR.

IN the debate, on the firſt day of the ſeſſions it was gravely aſſerted, that the French had neglected their commerce, and it would be entirely ruined by a continuance of the war. Mr. Sheridan, in his reply, with a ſevere air of ſarcaſm, admitted that there may be amongſt them, as well as amongſt us, enthuſiaſtic alarmiſts, who, holding a Republican Government in that high eſtimation that we do a mixed Monarchy, in the firſt tranſports of their zeal, cried out, "Periſh our Commerce! live our Conſtitution!" This alluſion to the ſpeech of Mr. Wyndham, who uſed thoſe expreſſions laſt year, made a conſiderable impreſſion upon the Houſe. We think we cannot gratify our readers better than by laying before them the ſentiments of a gentleman highly eminent for his literary abilities, who thus writes;

"I heard a Member in the Houſe of Commons pleading with great eloquence for our plunging into the war with France, and call out,—'Periſh our Commerce, if it muſt periſh, and let our Conſtitution live!' The words were fooliſh: the ſeparation is no longer poſſible. The vital principle of our conſtitution—the diviſion and diſtribution of its powers, may, indeed, ſurvive the ruin of commerce; and, provided the whole people be enlightened, it may be perpetuated after the wreck of our power. The ſpirit of

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our religion may be preſerved after the decay of our riches, and poverty and ſorrow may even render it more pure. The equal principal of our laws, now contained and exemplified in five hundred volumes folio, may appear perhaps as beautiful, when the deſtruction of property ſhall have rendered 499 volumes of ſtatutes obſolete, and a ſingle volume compriſes all that our poverty demands. But the bleſſings of our conſtitution, in the eye of thoſe who adminiſter, or hope to adminiſter its powers, depend, I conceive, on our opulence, and muſt periſh with the commerce from which that opulence flows. Let thoſe, therefore, who wiſh for things *as they are*, beware of war: true patriots, who abhor civil convulſions, will cheriſh the arts of peace.

"Periſh our Commerce!'—fooliſh words! What affords three millions annually to the poor? A million and a half annually to the church? What ſupplies a million to the civil liſt? Our Commerce. What ſupports the expence of our immenſe naval and military eſtabliſhments; all our places and penſions; what but our commerce? Thirteen millions of our taxes depend on circulation and conſumption, and this thoughtleſs Senator cries out, 'Periſh our Commerce, let our conſtitution live!'—But how then muſt the neceſſary ſplendour, the patronage, and the far more extenſive influence of the Crown be ſupported? And if this ſplendour, patronage, and influence are ſwept away, where is our conſtitution? What ſhall maintain the Crown againſt a band of factious Nobles, cajoling the people with the ſound of Liberty, to cover their ſelfiſh ambition? or what ſhall defend hereditary honours and property of every kind againſt the great maſs of the nation, now become poor, and therefore deſperate; ravenous, perhaps from their

wants,

wants, and terrible from the remainder of their ſpirit and pride, which has deſcended from better times?

"Our conſtitution and our commerce have grown up together; their connection was not at firſt a neceſſary one, perhaps, but events have rendered it ſuch; the peace and the ſafety of England depend on its being preſerved. Our very habits and manners, and the ſtructure of ſociety among us, are founded on this union. I know the evils of our ſituation, but the heavy load of our debts and taxes muſt teach us to ſubmit. Patience, peace, economy, and gradual reformation, are the remedies that wiſe men would point out; the chance of more dangerous means being reſorted to ariſes from the folly of one claſs, who deny theſe evils, and, by denying, aggravate them; and from the folly of another, who pronounce them intolerable, and would liſten to the counſels of enthuſiaſts or knaves. At preſent, never was a nation more ſubmiſſive, or more loyal; but a wiſe Miniſter will not wantonly try our patience, or goad us too much.

"Periſh our Commerce!'—Let the member for Norwich correct his expreſſion. We will excuſe the inaccuracy of an ardent and eloquent mind; we will even make allowance for the prejudices of education. In the ſchool of Mr. Burke, trade and manufactures are words that ſound meanly: among the Jeſuits of St. Omer's, the words themſelves were, perhaps, unknown. Early education, natural taſte, and peculiar ſublimity of imagination, have made, I preſume, the detail and the exactneſs of commerce diſguſting to Mr. Burke; and have furniſhed his mind with thoſe grand and obſcure ideas that aſſociate with the lofty manners of chivalry, and the gothic gloom of a darker age. Hence, probably (ſince time, by extinguiſhing ambition, has reſtored the original habits of

his

his mind) we are to explain his ſtrong preference of the feudal relicks of our conſtitution, and his dread of the progreſs of commerce, as leading to innovation and change. I do not wiſh to break a lance with the champion of Ariſtocracy, or with any of his followers; and I would concede in their favour as much as truth will admit.

"If our ſociety were to be caſt anew, if the intereſts of our country were alone to be conſulted, and the means were entirely at our command—much as commerce is to be valued, it would be wiſer and better to give it leſs ſhare in our proſperity, and, at all events, to render our revenue independent of foreign trade. How far it might be deſirable to control its effects on our manners, and on our habits of thinking, is a queſtion I cannot enter on at preſent. Conſulting our taſte, and ſetting moral conſiderations aſide, we ſhould perhaps be willing to preſerve a greater degree of correctneſs and purity of manners, and more of the nice and high-ſpirited ſenſe of honour than commerce generally admits. But if we try different characters by the teſt of utility, and found this teſt on the actual ſtate of the nation, the Knight of Chivalry and his various offspring, compared to the modern manufacturer, or the merchant, ſeem weak and uſeleſs things. Even the country gentleman of England, the moſt reſpectable character of all thoſe *lilies of the valley, who neither toil nor ſpin*, ſinks in this compariſon. The proprietor of landed property, who lives on the income of his eſtates, can in general be conſidered only as the conduit that conveys the wealth of one generation to another. He is a neceſſary link in ſociety indeed, but his place can at all times be eaſily ſupplied: in this point of view, the poor peaſant who cultivates his eſtate is of more importance than he. How

then

then ſhall we eſtimate him when compared with a reſpectable manufacturer—with the original genius, for inſtance, who has found means to convert our clay into porcelain, and lays all Europe under contribution to England by his genius, taſte, and ſkill? Or what rank will he take, when his exertions are put in competition with the power and enterprize of the Merchant, whoſe ſhips viſit the moſt remote ſhores and nations; to whom the coaſts of Aſia and America are familiar; who draws his wealth from the wilds of Nootka or Labrador, and who makes the diſtant Pacific yield up his ſtores? Even in his more elevated ſituation in the Houſe of Commons, the Country Gentleman, however eloquent and virtuous (Mr. Wyndham himſelf), muſt not be compared, as an object of national conſequence, with a character like this."

A Parallel between Riches and Poverty.

FROM THE GREEK OF RHIANUS.

AN ancient bard had reaſon to complain,
That all mankind are ignorant and vain;
Nor in proſperity their pride repreſs,
Nor with calm dignity ſupport diſtreſs;
To thoſe below them with contempt behave,
To thoſe above them act the downright ſlave.

Thus, he who is in want of daily food,
Feels no bold courage animate his blood;
Nature to him no beauties can diſplay,
He curſes fate and ſhuns the light of day.

The

The rich, in public, tell aloud their mind,
The poor, in ſervile ſilence, ſlink behind.
" Chill Penury" each generous thought controls,
And freezes all the ardour of their ſouls.
Nor ſhould we rail at the corrupted times,
'Tis Poverty which fills the world with crimes ;
For very few begin to rob or ſteal,
Till once they've fear'd the want of many a meal.
If halters only for the rich were made,
Ketch ſoon might ſtarve, or ſeek a better trade ;
His office merely keeps poor rogues in awe,
For great men's crimes are ſanctified by law.
To what I ſay, exceptions will be found ;
But 'tis a common caſe the world around.

The great adopt a ſurer, ſafer courſe,
They neither break a ſhop nor ſteal a horſe ;
They ſeldom pick a purſe, or forge a note,
Or point a piſtol at a coachman's throat.
Yet all to vice are equally inclin'd,
Their miſdemeanours vary but in kind ;
The poor dare only cheat, the rich oppreſs,
The firſt muſt hide, the laſt avow ſucceſs ;
The bluſhing footpad plunders in the night,
The *noble* felon dares the noon-day light.
And ſure of mortals, the moſt fooliſh thing,
Is, for the moſt part, what we call a k—— ;
Vile ſycophants, devoted to his will,
Define his right to conquer and to kill ;
And ſome poltroon, who, bred among the poor,
Had ſcarce dar'd thruſt a vixen from his door ;
Commits whole empires to the ſword and flame,
Dreaming deſtruction dignifies a name.

But inſtant vengeance treads upon his heel,
And all his pride inflicted makes him feel.
Survey that claſs with an impartial eye,
How few have died as wiſe men wiſh to die;
Though fools may deem the day of vengeance paſt,
Guilt in repentance always ends at laſt.

EPIGRAM.

PAINE, in his Rights of Man, aſſerts
The Engliſh have no conſtitution;
Pitt, a republican at heart,
(Wiſhing to have a revolution)
Suſpends an ACT, to make us know
What Tom in vain eſſay'd to ſhow.

PRO PAT.

MR. EDITOR,

If the under written lines deſerve a place in your valuable political repoſitory; by inſerting them, you will oblige,

Your's,

W. T

LIBERTY TREE.

A PARODY.

Humbly dedicated to ST. EDMUND, the Apoſtate!!!

TO P-TT at the helm, where he ſat in full glee,
The whole tribe of placemen preferr'd a petition;
That he their protector and patron would be,
When this anſwer was ſent to their ſtate inquiſition;

'Place,

'Place, penſion and all,
'Your juſt rights ſhall ne'er fall,
'I'll maintain 'em in ſpite of ſtern CHARLEY's loud bawl;
'Then firmly reſolve to die or be free,
'To gather the fruit from the Liberty Tree.

The news to *St. Stephen's* immediately came,
When ST. EDMUND, the patriot, began for to pout;
'To give to ſuch raſcals is ſurely a ſhame;
'I move that one half from the liſt be ſtruck out;
'For places and penſions,
'Are all mere inventions,
'But bribes to ſecure to fly P-TT his pretenſions:
'But I'll guard with my life, and at death leave it free,
'From vileſt corruption our Liberty Tree.

Then P-W-S roſe up, that ſenator bold,
And declar'd, with his pow'r he'd defend the petition;
He ſaid, that what EDMUND had recently told,
If not quite *high treaſon*, was downright *ſedition*;
Such words he averr'd,
Were highly abſurd;
Which, to prove, he to R-CHM-D's *ſmall portion* referr'd;
And hereditary right ſhould ever be free
To gather the fruit from the Liberty Tree.

Next D-ND-S got up, with a no-meaning face,
And ſwore wi' bra' P-W-S he'd ardently join;
He whiſper'd ST. EDMUND a ſinecure place
Should be certainly his, if the cauſe he'd decline.
'Let CHARLEY be jealous,
'Of us honeſt fellows;
Says B--RKE, 'I relent ſince the plain truth you tell us,
'And

‘ And I ſwear that with you I ſhall ever agree ;
‘ To ſhare a few twigs of the Liberty Tree.

But ye ſons of true Britons now join heart and hand,
With firm reſolution eſpouſe the good cauſe ;
'Tis your's to o'erturn a plot helliſhly plann'd,
Fair Freedom to baniſh and impoſe ſlaviſh laws.
Then while we agree,
Our toaſt let it be,
May Britons be ever united and free ;
And long may themſelves and poſterity ſee,
On our iſle ever flouriſh the Liberty Tree.

MR. EDITOR,

If the following few lines merit a place to fill up a vacant corner in your valuable miſcellany, the inſertion of them will much oblige a conſtant reader.

M. J.

On the Elephant being placed in the ſame Stable with her Majeſty's Zebra.

YE critics ſo learn'd, whence came it to paſs,
That the elephant wiſe ſhould be plac'd by an aſs?
The matter, ſo ſtrange, I'll unfold in a trice,
Some aſſes of ſtate ſtand in need of advice ;
To ſcreen them from juſtice, leſt, in an ill hour,
In the elephant's ſtead, they are ſent to the Tower.

Son-

Sonnet to Joſeph Prieſtley.

Juſtum ac tenaum propoſiti virum.

THE man in virtue's hardy conflict tried,
Tho' hireling prieſts his gen'rous zeal defame,
And venal ſenates execrate his name,
Eyes the bright goal, nor ever turns aſide.

Even tho' his thankleſs country ſhould repay,
With inſults rude, his patriotic toil,
With Omar's rage the ſtores of ſcience ſpoil,
And beggar ages, in one guilty day.

Prieſtley, 'twas thine, in poliſh'd times to feel
The dire exceſſes of a barbarous age.
Yet though proud courtiers ſcorn, and bigots rage,
The ſons of freedom ſhall applaud thy zeal,
Her fadeleſs wreath ſhall grateful ſcience bind,
And guide to happier ſhores the friend of human kind.

CIVIS MUNDI.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A letter having no ſignature, date, or place inſcribed, cannot poſſibly be admitted; but the writer's future favours will be exceedingly agreeable; and any obſervations, intelligence, or communication, in language not leading to Newgate, will be thankfully received.

PISISTRATUS cannot be admitted; but SOLON, which ſeems to be of the ſame family connection, ſhall have a place in our next.

A TRUE BRITON, although an extract, we are very much obliged to the communicator for, and ſhall eſteem his further correſpondence and obſervations a great favour.

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1794.

Pitt's Motion for Reform.

MR. EDITOR,

REFORM in the *Commons* House of Parliament, being the *terror* of the *day*, to the advocates of the preſent miniſtry, I beg leave to prove to you, that ſuch a *reform* is not *novel* in *England*, and by no means connected with *French affairs*, which is one of the many weak reaſons aſſigned for oppoſition to it. Upwards of 140 years ago, the uſurper *Cromwell*, in ſending out *his* writs for convening a *Free Parliament*, omitted ſending them to moſt of what we now call *rotten boroughs*, and added their number to the writs for *counties*, which was a circumſtance that rendered him very popular at the time. *Lord Clarendon* (the hiſtorian of the *Royal Monſter*) who cannot be ſuppoſed any way prejudiced in his favour, highly approves of his mode. Take it in his own words, vol. 3. p. 386. 'Though he (*Cromwell*)

'did

'did not obſerve the *old cauſe*, in ſending writs out to all the 'little *boroughs* throughout *England*, which uſed to ſend 'Burgeſſes, (by which method ſome *ſingle* counties ſend 'more members than *ſix* other counties do) he thought he 'took a more equal way, by appointing *more knights* for 'every ſhire to be choſen, and *fewer burgeſſes*, whereby the 'number of the whole was leſſened; and yet, the *people* 'being left to their *own election*, it was not thought by him 'an *ill temperament, and was generally looked on as an altera-* 'tion, *fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time.*' Mr. Rapin agrees with Lord Clarendon, for he tells us, '*that this regulation, which was* JUST *in itſelf, met with a* 'general *approbation.*' And Mr. Tindal, in a marginal note, ſays, 'It would have been *well* for *England*, had this 'regulation been *always* kept to; the *little inſignificant* 'boroughs being omitted, and the *number* of the *knights of* 'the *ſhire increaſed* from 4 to 12, according to the *extent* of 'the *county.*'

From that period until the reign of his preſent majeſty, all political writers have agreed upon the *propriety* and *neceſsity* of the meaſure adopted by *Cromwell*, and gave it, what it really merited, every due praiſe. The *patriots* have alſo been laviſh of their encomiums. Sir *George Saville* was a ſtrenuous advocate for it. And ſhall it be told, that among many others, even the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Burke, and our *immaculate* miniſter, Mr. Pitt, were alſo violent *advocates* for it? In the year 1784, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, made a celebrated oration in *favour* of it, and moved the Houſe of Commons, '*That leave be* 'given *to bring in a bill to amend the repreſentation of the* 'people *of England in parliament.*'—The plan propoſed *then* was,

1ſt. To

1ſt. To transfer the right of chuſing repreſentatives from 36 of ſuch *boroughs*, as *had* already, or were *falling* into *decay*, to the *counties*, and, to ſuch chief *towns* and *cities* as were at preſent *unrepreſented*.

2d. That a *fund* ſhould be provided for giving to the *owners* and *holders* of ſuch *boroughs* disfranchiſed, an appreciated *compenſation* for their property.

3d. That the taking this compenſation ſhould be a voluntary act of the proprietor, and if not taken *at preſent*, ſhould be placed out at *compound* intereſt, until it became an *irreſiſtable bait* to ſuch proprietors.

4th. Alſo to *extend* the right of voting for knights of the ſhire to *copy holders* as well as *free holders*.

To ſupport this plan, he ſaid, that an active, reforming, and regulating principle, which kept pace with the alterations of ſtate, was *requiſite* to preſerve the conſtitution in its full force and vigour—that as any part of the conſtitution decayed, it had ever been the wiſdom of the legiſlature to *renovate* and *reſtore* it by ſuch means as were moſt likely to anſwer the end propoſed; and that hence had ariſen the *frequent* alterations that had taken place with reſpect to the rule of *repreſentation*, both before and at the revolution.—After much altercation, it paſſed in the *negative*, the numbers being for it 164, againſt it 248; majority 84 *againſt it*. —There were 412 members preſent.

To comment on Mr. Pitt's *conſiſtency* of conduct is unneceſſary. When *Prime Miniſter* in 1784, he *propoſed* and *puſhed on a reform* in parliament,—when *Prime Miniſter* in 1794, he *oppoſes* a *reform* in parliament, and puts the advocates for it in the *Tower!!!* After ſupporting the *extraordinary* meaſures of the *preſent ſeſſion* in England, will any man wonder at his conduct, in the *buſineſs of reform?* But when will wonders ceaſe?

But

But the *enemies* to *reform*, ſay, it is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of the *Monarchical* part of our *conſtitution*, that the *King ſhould* have ſuch an *influence* on the *commons*, as to have the *majority* of them *dependent on him*—I aſſert the contrary. Becauſe, the *King*, as being the *executive power* and diſpoſer of *all places and honours*, and the *treaſurer* of the *revenues* of the *nation*, has a power ſufficient in himſelf, to *counteract* the *evil* intentions of either of the other two eſtates of our conſtitution.—And as he has alſo the *power* of *increaſing* the *peerage* to an *unlimited number*, he may be ſaid to have *two* parts in *three* of the powers of the ſtate. We know that long liſts of peerages have been made occaſionally to create a *majority* in the *lords* houſe. Queen Anne one morning made 14 new peers, ſolely for the purpoſe of *creating* a *majority*. And the ſame has been often done ſince. Now, it is evident, if the *King* was to have a *majority* of the commons at *command*, *then* only the *appearance* of a *conſtitution* would be kept up, as the *reality* would be *deſtroyed*, and the *King* be as *independent* as thoſe of *Spain* and *France* formerly were. Where there would be no controul, *his will* may be a *law*. And as it is evident, that *he* already poſſeſſes *two* parts in *three* of the *powers* of the *ſtate*, there is nothing to prevent his becoming *abſolute*, but the *virtuous independence* of the *commons* houſe of parliament, and how can this be rendered ſo, but by the unbiaſſed voice of the majority of the people? If we are to credit Mr. Pitt, there are 36 *boroughs already or nearly decayed* in *England*, conſequently to render the houſe as independent as formerly, a *counterpoiſe* ſhould be added, if it ſhould be thought improper to lop off theſe 36 boroughs, by adding an equal number of repreſentatives, that is 72 additional members to the counties, or principal towns and cities. This could *not* be adding to the *national debt*, by

purchaſing

purchaſing from the *proprietors*, and ſtill would be *deſtroying* their *pernicious* effect, by a *counterbalance*. By either method, the Houſe of Commons would acquire ſome greater ſhare of *independence*, than it evidently now poſſeſſes, and is therefore to be ſincerely wiſhed for.

Mr. Hume, 40 years ſince, was of opinion that the *power* of the *crown* was *increaſing rapidly*, and that without ſome *extraordinary efforts*, many would deſpair of being able to ſupport our free government much longer.—Take his own words for the aſſertion. See his *Eſſay* on the *Britiſh government*.

'But it may be ſaid, that this Spirit (that is *the Britiſh Spirit*) however great, will never be able to ſupport itſelf againſt that *immenſe property*, which is *now lodged in the King*, and which is ſtill increaſing. Upon a *moderate computation* there are near *three millions* (*in fact there are near double that now*) at the *diſpoſal* of the *crown*. The *civil* liſt amounts to near a *million*; the *collection* of all *taxes* to another *million*; and the *employment* in the *army* and *navy*, along with *eccleſiaſtical preferments*, to above a *third million*; a monſtrous ſum, and what may fairly be computed to be more than a thirtieth part of the whole *income* and *labour* of the *kingdom*. When we add to this *immenſe* property, the increaſing luxury of the nation, our proneneſs to corruption, along with the great power and prerogatives of the crown, and the command of ſuch numerous military forces, there is no one but muſt deſpair, without extraordinary efforts, of being able to ſupport our free government much longer under all theſe diſadvantages.'

It is unneceſſary to make any comment on this. It ſpeaks for itſelf, being full, and of facts only. But Mr. Hume was not the only perſon who was of this opinion. It deſcended

ſcended down *even* to Mr. Burke, as witneſs his different bills for lopping off the excreſcences of the Crown; and alſo to his celebrated coadjuror Mr Dunning, afterwards Lord Aſhburton, who, on the 6th of April, 1779, moved the committee of the commons, (then ſitting to take into conſideration the petitions of the people of England, for redreſs of grievances)

'That it is the opinion of this committee, that the in-'fluence of the crown has increaſed, is increaſing, and ought 'to be diminiſhed.'

Which was agreed to by the committee, and upon report, was alſo agreed to by the houſe, by a majority of 15.—Members preſent 45.

After theſe proofs, I believe it will appear to every impartial perſon, that, where the power of the crown is ſo immenſely great, its influence ſo very extenſive, and its riches ſo immenſe, with the evident dependence of the peers upon the crown, it is abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of our conſtitution, our laws and liberties, that the repreſentatives of the commons ſhould be as independent as it is in the power of any repreſentatives to be; and that without this independency, our conſtitution will decay—Our liberty will periſh.

But it is a happineſs to reflect, that we have it in our power, without recurring to any violent or anticonſtitutional means, to eſtabliſh our freedom on a permanent baſis. A reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, ſo as to render it independent of the other two eſtates, will fully anſwer the end.—Every friend to true liberty muſt therefore be a friend to reform, as every enemy to reform, muſt be an enemy to the conſtitution—to the laws—the liberties—the peace—and happineſs of Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen—

and

and it is to be hoped, will be conſidered as ſuch, by every well meaning and independent man in the three kingdoms.

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

P. S. For the information of the reader, I ſubjoin a *State of the repreſentation* in *England* and *Ireland*.

Iriſh Houſe of Commons.	Members.
conſiſts of	300
Free Counties, *Free* Cities, and *Free Boroughs* return *only*	80
Potwalloping Boroughs	4
Rotten Boroughs	216
A *virtuous* number!	300.

Engliſh Houſe of Commons.	Members.
conſiſts of	558
71 Peers, and the Treaſury, return	167
91 Commoners	139
17 Boroughs, not containing 150 perſons in each, return	21
Returned by compromiſe	28
Free Counties, *Free* Cities, and *Free* Boroughs, return, *only*	203
For England, Scotland, and Wales	558

Let any *candid* man put his *hand* on his heart, and *honeſtly* declare, *Whether a Parliamentary Reform is neceſſary, or not?*——Let the above STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION determine the point.

MR.

MR. EDITOR,

AFTER peruſing a few numbers of your valuable repoſitory, I was inſenſibly led into a train of reflections, which occupied my attention till I retired to reſt; when, falling aſleep, I thought myſelf tranſported, by an unknown power, to the planet Saturn, to the royal city Baſilicon, when the genius of Saturn appearing unto me, informed me, he had brought me there to be an inviſible ſpectator of the trial of the renowned Sophron, a trial on which, he ſaid, the future welfare of the kingdom of Saturn depended. He then conveyed me into a great hall, where the king and his council were aſſembled, to deliberate on the means for condemning Sophron, whoſe chief crime, it ſeems, conſiſted in his endeavours to render the inhabitants of Saturn a free and happy people. The king aroſe, and made a ſhort but incoherent ſpeech, which was received with the greateſt applauſe by the ſurrounding paraſites. The prime miniſter then expreſſed his doubts of being able to accompliſh by violence their ends, and concluded by offering a thouſand purſes of gold and a blue ribbon, to any one who could find out the means of condemning Sophron. Upon the promiſe of this reward, a little man, dreſſed with a large ſheep's ſkin about his head, undertook the taſk: my companion and I then followed him to Judgment-hall, where the judges were ſitting: he called them aſide, and whiſpered to them for a conſiderable time, when the only words I could hear were—'court-favour, ribbons, and penſions.'

At length Sophron appeared at the bar, and the trial commenced: all was ſilent when Sophron made his excellent defence. He inveighed againſt the corruptions of the

the ſtate, the venality of the court, and proved that the miſeries of the people reſulted therefrom. His defence was received with the marked approbation of a numerous crowd of ſpectators, all anxiouſly waiting the important event. The judges then ſaid, there remained no doubt in their minds of his wicked intention of rendering the people free, and immediately pronounced ſentence of baniſhment for fourteen years, to an inhoſpitable iſland in the remoteſt part of all Saturn. Great was the clamour of the people upon this event, as it was expected many more would ſhare the ſame fate who had been active in the cauſe of freedom. The people then gathered round the palace in great numbers, to petition for the pardon of their belovedS ophron,—when a wizard, named Edmund, appeared, and, muttering ſome cabaliſtical words, declared if they did not inſtantly depart, he would turn them all into ſwine;—upon which he grunted ſo horribly that I awoke.

R. T.

As yours is a receptacle for all ſorts of food, whether boiled or raw, (ſo it is fit for ſwine) and all is thrown together into your trough, I ſhall here caſt in my modicum, and if, after deploring the folly and Atheiſm of the French, who have lately addreſſed the Great Eternal (whom I believe to be what we call God), or have performed public divine Worſhip, without the formal nonſenſe of their old prelacy,' which, I think, is a proof, the ſtrongeſt proof, of their being the very worſt of Atheiſts, and therefore it is no wonder they have brought on themſelves ſo much diſgrace. To the folly of the above, I ſhall herewith give you a little of the latter, for the information of my brother ſwine, which was communicated to me by a young Iriſh Porker, and hope it will turn out

BONUM.

French

French Atheiſm exploded; or, the Neceſſity of ſupporting Church and State.

MR. EDITOR,

WHAT a diſgrace to the Republican Legiſlators of France to deprive the laborious and induſtrious French of the honour and pleaſure of ſupporting a numerous train of placemen and penſioners, and giving tithes to a virtuous and hard-praying eſtabliſhment of divines; when we conſider the ſituation of theſe different orders in other countries, and the alacrity with which the generous people contribute to their eaſe and ſupport, we have reaſon to exult that no innovation has taken place. One man feels ſuch pride in ſeeing another riot on his earnings, that it would be really a pity to interrupt his happineſs—what luſtre do not a nobleman's ribbon and penſion reflect on the peaſantry—what dignity on the nation—what grace on ſociety! And then the church! what honour does not a rich biſhop do to religion! How admirably does Chriſtianity flouriſh under the auſpices of a gormondiſing rector and a bacchanalian prieſt!—yea, and what fruit does not the vineyard produce under their pruning and ſacred hands.

Such are the uſeful and holy inſtitutions torn up by the roots in that land of Cannibals and infidels, France!!—nay, this atrocious banditti have violated the courts of judicature, and carried their curſed reform to Lawyers and Judges; now, to the diſgrace of law and juſtice, a man may know the iſſue of a ſuit in twelve weeks, which would require twice as many years before;—and then the deplorable fate of thoſe good judges who would condemn a man to the gallies to pleaſe a courtezan, or baſtille a pa-

a patriot to oblige a miniſter; could any honeſt man wiſh to ſee the rage of reform carried to ſuch ſhocking lengths any where?

For the honour of reaſon and philoſophy, it is a pleaſing circumſtance, that the French nation has reſcued itſelf from the charge of Atheiſm, ſo generally made upon it by the enemies to its liberties; to acknowledge the exiſtence of ONE ETERNAL and OMNIPOTENT BEING, is the boaſt of reaſon, and the pride of philoſophy; and to adore him, according to the principles of that reaſon (in *ſpirit* and in *truth*) is the duty of every rational creature; it is true, that agreeably to this creed, error and ſuperſtition muſt hide their monſtrous heads, and their authors, like the old idols, be broken to pieces.

All great Reformers aimed, in every age, at bringing man back to the origin of things; thus Moſes acted, and thus acted Chriſt; yet ſuch is the fatality attending the human race, that inſtead of a firm reliance on the Divinity, they followed deceitful and blind leaders, whoſe intereſt it was to debauch their minds, and ſubject them to the adulterous empire of ſtrange gods; the object of the French Convention, ſeems now to be, under the auſpices of reaſon and philoſophy, to lead the people out of the wilderneſs of ſuperſtition and error, the luminous column of Truth preceding.

It is ſtrange, that under the great diſpenſation of Providence, ſuch means as wars and bloodſhed ſhould be neceſſary to accompliſh the great views of the Almighty; yet, if we admit the truth of the Scriptures, and who can doubt them? the moſt important events and glorious revolutions are to follow from the ſlaughter and exterminating madneſs of kings and their people.

Mr. EDITOR,

During the laſt STORM, a nice little tantony pig carried the incloſed, among ſome other litter, into his ſtye. Make it uſeful to all his brotherhood, and oblige

ANTI TRULLIBER.

THE TYRANTS' DOWNFAL.

A NEW SONG.

THE trumpet of Liberty ſounds through the world,
And the univerſe ſtarts at the ſound,
Her ſtandard Philoſophy's hand has unfurl'd,
And the nations are thronging around.
Fall, Tyrants, fall.
(Vis.) Theſe are the days of Liberty,
Fall, Tyrants, fall.

How noble the ardour that ſeizes the ſoul,
How they burſt from the yoke and the chain,
What force can the fervor of freedom controul,
Or its terrible vengeance reſtrain?
CHORUS.
Fall, tyrants, fall, &c.

Proud caſtles of deſpotiſm, dungeons, and cells
The torrent ſhall ſweep you away,
From the weſt to the eaſt the dread hurricane ſwells,
And tyrants are chill'd with diſmay.
Fall, &c.

The

The cruel dominion of prieſtcraft is o'er,
Its thunders, its faggots, its chains,
Mankind will endure the vile bondage no more,
While virtue our freedom maintains.
Fall, &c.

The ſlave on whoſe neck the proud deſpot has trod,
Now feels that himſelf is a man,
Whilſt the lordly uſurper, who rul'd with a nod,
Hides his head 'midſt his ſervile divan.
Fall, &c.

Shall Britons the chorus of liberty hear
With a cold and inſenſible mind?
No: the triumphs of freedom each Briton ſhall ſhare,
And contend for the Rights of Mankind.
Fall, &c.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the following worthy of a place in your valuable repoſitory, by inſerting it the firſt opportunity, you will much oblige a conſtant reader.

R. B.

A POLITICAL LITANY.

Spare us, good Lord!

FROM all monopoliſers, foreſtallers, regrators, and from all want of the neceſſaries of life,
Good Lord deliver us!

From the wicked craftineſs of avaricious men, and from all falſe weights and meaſures,
Good Lord, &c.

From

From heavy taxes and beggary, from exciſe laws and ſlavery, and from Popery and all perverſion of thy word,

Good Lord, &c.

From the pernicious votes of venal boroughs, and from all rioting, drunkenneſs, and ſeptennial perjury,

Good Lord, &c.

From long parliaments, from placemen and penſioners, from bribery and corruption, and from all proſtitution of conſcience,

Good Lord, &c.

From pride and avarice, from hypocriſy, and all falſe patriotiſm,

Good Lord, &c.

From the promotion and power of evil men, from tyranny and oppreſſion, and from all the fatal effects of favouritiſm,

Good Lord, &c.

We beſeech thee, O Lord, that it may pleaſe thee to illuminate all biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, that they may ſee the horrid ſinfulneſs of their ſeeking tranſlations, of holding pluralities, of non-reſidence, and of purchaſing of livings.

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord!

That it may pleaſe thee to give our great men a true love for their country, that they may ſeek the public good, and not their own private intereſts.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to bleſs us with an able and upright miniſtry, and to reſtore unity, peace, and concord to this nation.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to bring into the right way all ſuch as have erred, and that all thoſe who are any ways intruſted

intruſted by the people may faithfully diſcharge their duty.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to bleſs the poor with food, and the rich with grace.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to bleſs the friends of the people with grace, wiſdom, and underſtanding, to reſtore and ſtrengthen the rights and liberties of the people.

We beſeech, &c.

Mr. Editor,

Your admiſſion of this into your very uſeful publication will much oblige your humble brother,

HOG-LOUSE.

INTREPIDITY and firmneſs are two virtues which every true Briton muſt be maſter of, or elſe all the other talents he is poſſeſſed of are uſeleſs, and barren.

A man may be honeſt, juſt, and righteous; but if he is fearful and timorous, he will ſtagger when theſe great qualities are moſt needful to be exerted for the good of his country, and he ſinks into a *lukewarm Patriot*. We have heard of conſiderable men, in late reigns, who have retired into the country, and left the power of government in the hands of others, for fear, if they oppoſed the meaſures then purſuing, they ſhould be branded with the odious names of *Jacobites* and *diſaffected perſons*. Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a judgment on any ſubject relating to the government, yet dreads to declare it by his actions in that ſtation of life where he is naturally called upon to do it, becomes, by his inactivity, a

party

party to the very meaſures his reaſon blames and his conſcience condemns.

In England, this puſillanimity is more to be warded againſt than in moſt other countries; for, whenever there has appeared an ill-deſigning miniſtry, one of their chief views has been to traduce and terrify thoſe who have had the courage to adhere inviolably to the liberties of the ſubject. When the Tories have been in power, thoſe who did not give ſupplies, or anſwer their intentions, were inſtantly called *Foes to the Church*, and *Republicans*: And the *Whigs* never fail to ſtile their antagoniſts, *Foes to the State*, and *Jacobites*. But a bold and daring Patriot will ſcorn theſe little ſlanders, nor ſuffer them to obſtruct his integrity. Such a perſon will weigh his actions in the ſcale of reaſon and juſtice; and when once they are agreeable to thoſe principles, he will purſue his courſe ſteadily, and, deſpiſing all his enemies can ſay of his behaviour, will not ſuffer their malice to be a protection to their wickedneſs. Such a Patriot will propoſe no other proſpect but the public good of the common-wealth; and if, in the attaining of that great end, by the villainy of the times, he ſhould fall a martyr to his country, he will, with comfort, conſider, that he has anſwered the will of his Maker, who ſent him into the world to do good; or die rather than not oppoſe evil.

Here might we go back into hiſtory, and ſee with what great luſtre the names of ſuch heroes are delivered down to poſterity; and how much more they are eſteemed who periſh in a good cauſe, than THOSE who TRIUMPH in a bad one.

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MR. EDITOR,

As this performance has proved an abortion, I believe owing to the timidity of parents, and, as I am ſenſible you have none of thoſe impreſſions, I ſincerely hope you will foſter the infant; it has hardly ſeen the bleſſings of the day, but, I doubt not, with your care, it will be enabled to prove and help to ſhew, from experience, the bleſſings of our ſublime and immaculate conſtitution, and, as a good production, is food for the ſwiniſh multitude.

OLD BRISTLE-BACK.

THE EAST INDIA CHARTER conſidered.

WERE the real dignity and virtue of the human character to be eſtimated merely by the importance of the ſituation which is aſſumed; and were we to take it for granted, that thoſe who exerciſe authority always poſſeſs talents adequate to the difficulty, and integrity proportioned to the importance, of their ſtations; it might then naturally be inferred, that thoſe who exerciſe the Britiſh government

are

are the wiſeſt and the moſt virtuous of the human race; or, as the authority they have aſſumed ſeems to be of ſuch a nature as is hardly fit to be intruſted to frail mortals; it might be imagined, that ſome beings of more than human origin had condeſcended to viſit this happy iſland, and aſſume the ſeat of legiſlation, and the reins of government.

To exerciſe dominion even over this iſland, amidſt the diſcordant intereſts of the various parts of the community, might call for no common ſhare of human wiſdom: nor would a leſs portion of integrity and virtuous fortitude be requiſite to guide, with impartiality, the public councils, to guard the general intereſts of the ſtate from being ſacrificed to intereſted combinations, and the rights of the weaker and more defenceleſs parts of the community from the oppreſſion of the powerful.

But we will admit, that mere mortals may be adequate to the taſk of governing ten millions of people, amongſt whom they live, and with whoſe manners they are intimately acquainted; and, diverſified as the various intereſts amongſt us are, yet poſſibly they may be ſo balanced and combined, that the government may be conducted with tolerable impartiality, even though thoſe who govern us ſhould not poſſeſs perfect angelic purity.

But, to engage in a more enlarged ſphere than this, the human powers ſeem not to be adapted; for, whatever dignified titles, kings, miniſters, or parliaments may aſſume, I do not remember that it has ever been fully proved, that they are either omnipotent, or omniſcient; and, if ſo, it ſhould ſeem to follow that, being limited in their faculties and powers, they exceed the bounds of legitimate authority when they exerciſe that ſpecies or extent of dominion to which human nature ſeems to be inadequate. When the exerciſe of power is extended beyond theſe limits, it may be denomi-

denominated outrage, plunder, and oppreſſion; but it cannot be deemed government.

Theſe ſentiments, obvious as they appear, do not ſeem to prevail very forcibly in the Britiſh cabinet. The government of this nation, arduous as might be the taſk properly to conduct it, they deem to be far from equal to the extent of their genius; and it almoſt ſinks into inſignificance amidſt their vaſt and diverſified plans. They can ſit in the council-chamber at St. James's, or in St. Stephen's chapel, and give laws to the moſt diſtant regions, while the governors and governed are mutually ignorant of each others exiſtence, and thouſands and millions periſh beneath this yoke, in countries which our beſt maps deſcribe to us as unknown.

With great facility they can govern both this, and her ſiſter kingdom, take due care of a German electorate, and give laws and government to the undefined regions of Canada. They can diſpoſe of thirty millions of French, determine what government they ſhall adopt, what principles they ſhall profeſs, and what religion they ſhall believe. They know perfectly well how the inhabitants of the immenſe continent of Africa ought to be diſpoſed of, and can correct the error of the great Author of nature, by tranſplanting them to thoſe happy regions, where they experience the inexpreſſible happineſs of becoming his majeſty's ſubjects, or rather the ſubjects of thoſe perſons to whom his majeſty has, by his royal charters, been graciouſly pleaſed to transfer that dominion and authority, which he moſt rightfully poſſeſſes over the black inhabitants of Africa, and their poſterity, for ever.

With no leſs princely munificence, by another royal charter, immenſe and unknown portions of the world and its inhabitants are conveyed to certain men, women, and children,

children, of various nations, called the *honourable* the Eaſt-India Company: but, as theſe *honourable* ladies and gentlemen have been informed, that there exiſts in this nation an *honourable* Houſe of Commons, who have ſometimes taken very great liberties, not only with royal grants, but with the royal grantors themſelves, they have thought it moſt prudent to have two ſtrings to their bow, and have perſuaded the *Right Honourable Henry Dundas* to inform the *honourable* Houſe of Commons, that if they would confirm this royal munificent grant for twenty years, they would pay to the diſpoſal of that *honourable* Houſe ten millions, not of their own money, but part and parcel of that money which the ſaid *honourable* gentlemen and ladies mean forcibly to take from the inhabitants of Aſia.

This very *honourable* tranſaction, between theſe very *honourable* parties, may appear a little *odd* to thoſe who are not acquainted with the perfection and excellence of the Britiſh government; they may think it a little extraordinary, that a Britiſh Houſe of Commons ſhould hold the purſe not only of this nation, but the purſes of the innumerable nations of Aſia; and, poſſibly, this ſyſtem of munificence may remind them of the generoſity of Hudibras's ſaints,

——————————— *who could be,*
Of gifts that coſt them nothing, free.

Perhaps, it may be ſaid, that royal gifts are uſually diſtinguiſhed by their magnitude, and that their ſplendor precludes any very accurate enquiry into their juſtice: but the munificence of George the Third far ſurpaſſes that of any of his compeers. It was never equalled by a king, nor ſcarcely exceeded by a pope. Alexander could beſtow the kingdoms he had conquered amongſt the generals who aſſiſted him in the conqueſt; but, by this charter, there is beſtowed

beſtowed to a parcel of men, women, and children, for the trifling ground rent of 500,000*l.* per. ann. countries almoſt equalling, both in riches and extent, the conqueſts of Alexander himſelf; in conſequence of which, monarchs have been hurled from their thrones, whoſe magnificence and ſplendor ſo far ſurpaſs that of European monarchs, that, in compariſon therewith, they can be deemed but of the ſwiniſh multitude.

After the extent of abſurdity which we have witneſſed, who ſhall pretend to define its limits? Should the Aeroſtatic art be improved, may we not have the happineſs to ſee his majeſty's miniſters arrange the planetary ſyſtem, diſpoſe of the moon by a royal charter, put Mercury in the budget, and ſhare out the *Georgium Sidus* in 'Change Alley?

Moſt of thoſe enormities which have diſgraced the hiſtory of nations have been obſcure in their origin, and have riſen through an almoſt imperceptible gradation. Our horror is, in ſome degree, diminiſhed by the veil of antiquity; and mankind are apt to imagine, that they are guilty only of a venial crime, when they continue to practiſe the mortal ſins of their anceſtors: but our domination over Aſia cannot be viewed through any ſuch palliating medium; though its features may have all the deformity of age, yet, like moſt of the fungus tribe, its growth has been as rapid as its appearance is loathſome, and its effects noxious. When the duke of Hanover entered into the important compact with the *glorious* and *immortal* William, when he agreed to deſert the cauſe of Lewis XIVth. in conſideration of the electoral dignity, and the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown, little did he think that the domains of the Great Mogul was the ſplendid *apanage*. Even George IId. would have ſtared to have been told, that his next ſucceſſor would grant the dominions of the

Great

Great Mogul to a parcel of men, women, and children, natives and foreigners; and notwithſtanding the docility into which the honourable Houſe of Commons had been trained, under the foſtering care of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, he would hardly have believed that, when Mr. Burke acknowledged that under this grant more than twenty millions of people had been deſtroyed; a bill, confirming it, would paſs with leſs ceremony than a canal or a divorce bill. It may be deemed extraordinary that, amongſt all the loud clamourers who contended that the Britiſh parliament had no right to take the money of the Americans without their own conſent, not one ſolitary individual ſhould be found to aſk, by what authority Britiſh miſcreants ſpread deſolation and horror through a country, which, until it had the misfortune to be viſited by the Engliſh, was ſtiled, with peculiar propriety, the paradiſe of nations! and on what principle we ſanction theſe miſcreants, returning with the rich harveſt of their plunder, and receive them with open arms, on condition of their paying a tythe of it into the national treaſury! As to Mr. Burke, vociferous as he was in favour of American rights, he certainly may be excuſed; he cannot be expected to defend and avow principles of juſtice and humanity, as he *honeſtly* owns that he hated *all principles* when he was young, and abhors them now his head grows grey; but it was rather too much to expect, that this adroit maſter in ethics ſhould ſo efficaciouſly and extenſively inculcate his precious doctrine; it indicates, that he has manifeſted great ſkill in ſelecting the ſoil, in which to depoſit the ſeed he has imported from the rich hot bed of St. Omer's;† in ſuch a ſoil it ſeems to find a quick growth, and promiſes a rich harveſt. All that eſcaped from our moſt precious patriots was, a faint doubt, an heſitating murmur, leſt the rich plunder

† The Jeſuits college.

plunder of the happieſt regions of the earth ſhould endanger the fabric of the Britiſh conſtitution, by increaſing the influence of the crown. Oh, Marat! Oh, Roberſpierre! ye now riſe before me, almoſt the exemplars of perfect innocence. Waſh not your hands from blood; ſheathe not your poniards; plunge, plunge them deep in the hearts of your enemies; day by day add maſſacre to maſſacre; ſtill ſhall I conſider you as overflowing with the milk of human kindneſs, when I compare your deeds with the horrors which have overſpread the plains of Indoſtan. *Your* apologiſts may find ſomething to ſay in your defence; *they*, at leaſt, will not be neceſſitated to preſerve a dead ſilence, nor to urge the horrors you have already perpetrated as the ſole reaſon for their repetition. It cannot be ſaid, that you have traverſed oceans in ſearch of reſiſtleſs victims of ſlaughter. You may affirm that, robbery and murder is not your *ſole* object, but merely a means to an end which you deem valuable; that in your ſhop of horrors you balance good and evil, that you compound not ſolely deadly poiſons, and ſpread through the world nothing but firebrands and death.

This claim to thoſe *valuable poſſeſſions* the *Britiſh* territories in *India*, which has now found a place in his majeſty's ſpeech, ſurely needed, on that account, ſome little preface, ſome trifling explanation on what this claim is founded. It would have been beſtowing a favour on future hiſtorians, as I know not where they will find the records to prove the foundation of our claim; and it is rather unkind in us to leave future Vatels and Puffendorfs deſtitute of all information on this ſubject, as they may be anxious to refer to the proceedings of the Britiſh government, in aſſuming the empire of Aſia, as a memorable event illuſtrative of the law of nations.

But,

But, as ſecret articles and private compacts frequently come to light in diſtant periods, ſo, it is poſſible, future hiſtorians may poſſeſs precious documents to which we are ſtrangers, and the obſcurities of the preſent period may be elucidated to them by the events. While we are ſuppoſing the preſent magnificent arrangement to be confined to Europe, we are neceſſarily involved in aſtoniſhment. For though the diſguſt with which the firſt gleams of liberty in France was viewed in this country be now avowed, yet is no motive viſible to us which could have occaſioned it. No man could have ſurmiſed a motive which could poſſibly have induced a mere king of *Great Britain* to wiſh the ſubverſion of the limited monarchy of France; there does not appear a motive adequate to induce even the Empreſs of Ruſſia to exterminate the principles of liberty out of France, unleſs ſhe has ſome hope of eradicating them from Britain alſo. But future hiſtorians may poſſibly know how far Aſia may be comprehended in the views of this royal confederacy.

The mention his majeſty makes, in this ſpeech, of meaſures having been taken to ſecure the benefits we derive from theſe valuable poſſeſſions, ought to excite our warmeſt gratitude for his princely care. To *ſecure* ſo extraordinary a dominion, over ſuch diſtant and extenſive countries, might, indeed, call for the utmoſt exertions of his majeſty's wiſdom, as the hiſtory of the world proves, what his majeſty has experienced, that diſtant dominion ſtands on a very ſlippery foundation. Indeed, till I read his majeſty's moſt excellent ſpeech, I never imagined that the exerciſe of any permanent and efficacious authority over the antipodes was pretended to be in view; I conſidered our Aſiatic adventures merely as marauding expeditions, to gain a temporary poſſeſſion of diſtant defenceleſs countries, which

after

after ſtripping and plundering, were to be abandoned in purſuit of new ſources of pillage. I had been taught by Mr. *Burke* to conſider even "3000 miles of ocean as a powerful principle, in the natural conſtitution of things, for weakening government, and of which no contrivance could deſtroy the effect, that a power ſteps in which limits the arrogance of the raging paſſions, and ſays, "hitherto ſhalt thou go and no farther." Who are you that you ſhould fret and rage, and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worſe happens to you than does to all nations which have extenſive empires; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies, the circulation of power muſt be leſs vigorous at the extremities. Nature has ſaid it. The Turk has not the ſame dominion in Algiers as in Turkey. Deſpotiſm itſelf is obliged to truck and huckſter. Spain, in her American provinces, ſubmits to this immutable condition, the eternal law of extenſive and detached empire."

[*To be continued.*]

MR. EDITOR,

Lately reading in an old magazine, called The Grand Magazine of Magazines, I found many excellent obſervations on Government and Governors. I have ſent you an extract, called 'Thoughts upon the Independence of Parliaments,' which beſpeak the author a lover of Liberty, and an enemy to all corruption. On the ſubject I do not remember to have met with more pointed obſervations or juſt reaſoning. In ſhort, I think, Mr. Editor, if the author were now living, he would have the Honour of being called a JACOBIN. If theſe find admittance, I may be induced to take up the pen myſelf, and, perhaps, in time become as conſtant a correſpondent as I am a reader of your Repoſitory.

Your's, W. A.

Thoughts

Thoughts on the Independence of Parliaments.

IN the beſt ordered governments, time will neceſſarily introduce innovations, which are ſo many ſteps or degrees towards diſſolution. It has therefore been obſerved, that thoſe ſtates have been the moſt durable which have often recurred to their firſt principles; by which means they have counteracted the effects of time.

The firſt principles of many ſtates are ſo latent and obſcure that it is difficult to diſcover them, and when diſcovered, dangerous to aſſert them; but ours are eaſily traced * and ſecurely vindicated; for, at the time of our revolution, they were fully explained and admirably ſettled, though, by the baſe corruptions of future times, they have been in a great meaſure fruſtrated. Agreeable to theſe principles the freedom of parliament is declared to be an eſſential requiſite for the ſupport of our conſtitution; and ſo long as a majority are dependent upon the M———y, it is no matter by what terms we define our ſpecies of government, for it will in fact be arbitrary and oppreſſive; the tyranny will be more intolerable and durable, becauſe to the oppreſſors themſelves muſt we ſue for relief; we ſhall be ſlaves to tyrants of our own creating; and it will make no difference in our ſufferings whether we are ſpoiled of our liberty and property by a combination of men of our own appointment, who betray us under the form and colour of law, or whether we are deprived of liberty by the oral fiat of a deſpotic Sultan.

Whilſt the public welfare is committed to the care of men who have a ſeparate intereſt from the good of the whole, and who hold perhaps the greateſt part of their property under miniſterial tenure, the general benefit will always

* This will not apply to the preſent times.

always be ſacrificed to private conſiderations; we ſhall be ſtabbed in the dark, and the hand which gave the wound will be inviſible. Should we attack the miniſter and procure his removal, yet our ſufferings would ſurvive his diſmiſſion; for, the majority of his creatures would be compelled by neceſſity to court the favours and protection of his ſucceſſor, and they, added to his friends, would ſtill form a majority againſt the nation. Thus it is altogether immaterial who is miniſter, for intereſted members will infallibly be influenced by the principles of the Vicar of Bray. The law will not allow judges to try cauſes of property in thoſe counties where their own eſtates lie, leſt, by accident, their own intereſt ſhould come in queſtion and give them a partial bias; and, in common trials, no party intereſted is allowed to be of the jury, or even to give evidence in a cauſe;—and ſhall we uſe theſe admirable cautions in private concerns, where the point in litigation is perhaps only whether Peter or John ſhall be entitled to a few conteſted acres, and ſhall we diſregard them where the intereſt of a nation is at ſtake —where the grand objects of debate are, whether the community ſhall be happy or miſerable—whether induſtry ſhall enjoy the fruits of its own labours, or be plundered by the indolent and rapacious?

If the expediency of a ſtanding army were in diſpute, ſhould it be decided by the votes of ſoldiers? If a reduction of officers ſhould be in agitation, ſhould placemen put a negative to the propoſition? If the miſapplication of the public money ſhould be under enquiry, ſhould penſioners be the inſpectors? Should they who may be choſen by corruption determine the legality of elections? Should men linked together by venality, who may abjectly follow a miniſter with as much docility as a ſtring

of horſes trot to a country fair; ſhould theſe men be entruſted with the freedom of their fellow ſubjects? To propoſe theſe queſtions ſeriouſly would be abſurd.

The fatal impropriety of committing the public concerns to ſuch managers is obvious to the moſt ſlender underſtanding, and it needs but a very moderate ſhare of ſagacity to perceive that our conſtitution can never return to its firſt principles, till the freedom of parliaments is reſtored by the limitation or total excluſion of placemen and penſioners; all other remedies will only be temporary and ineffectual, for this alone will ſtrike at the root of all our evil.

Though that part of the legiſlative body which repreſents the people is elective, yet it is in vain to urge that it depends on the conſtituents to nominate members of patriotic principles and untainted authority; for, as their nomination is oftener directed by conſtraint than choice, as they are liable to be deceived in their judgments, even where they are totally unbiaſſed; and as many repreſentatives of unſullied characters, at the time of elections, have been debauched by the ſeductive arts of miniſterial ſepens who diſplay the golden allurements which qualify pride and pleaſure; therefore to preſerve the virtue of the repreſentative body, they ought not only to be choſen by free electors, but, to ſecure their independence after their election, all temptations of ſelf-intereſt ought to be removed. True freedom conſiſts in being void of hopes as well as fears; and the man who is in expectation of preferment is as much a ſlave as he who is in hourly dread of being removed from his employment.

We may obſerve with what ſkilful induſtry thoſe glorious patriots at the revolution reared the capital columns

of

of Britiſh liberty, which have been ſuffered to moulder and decay by a ſenſeleſs and degenerate poſterity.

By a ſtatute of William III. for maintaining the freedom of elections, it is enacted, "that candidates ſhall "not make preſents of money or treat electors, &c. &c. "if they do, by this bribery they ſhall be incapacitated to "ſerve as members." It is thereby likewiſe enacted, "that no peer, officer of the Exciſe, Poſt-Office, &c. "ſhall make any intereſt for members of parliament, on "pain of forfeiture, &c."

Many other truly excellent regulations were formed at that time; ſuch as the oath to be taken by electors, that they have not received any gift or reward. But, alas! how ſhamefully, how openly, have all theſe been violated! and what proſperity can attend a nation where laws ſeem only to be made in ſport, as the idle amuſement of ſpeculative genius? Have not candidates notoriouſly bribed and treated electors? Has it not been a cuſtom to open houſes, and to keep them open during the whole time of election, where conſtituents may drink away their ſenſes, and ſell their liberties for a few illicit draughts? Have not Peers and others been known to intereſt themſelves in elections, contrary to law? Have they not commanded the votes of their tradeſmen, tenants, and dependents, and dictated to their conſciences, in breach of all laws both human and divine?

Theſe abuſes have been too frequent and public to admit of contradiction, and their nature is ſuch as will elude all means of prevention, unleſs the candidates themſelves are bound from all proſpects of ſelf-intereſted views. Till then the freedom of elections will remain among the deſiderata of the Stoics, rather to be wiſhed for than expected. The law for ſecuring the freedom of

elections

elections will be fruitleſs and ineffectual, as long as the candidates entertain future expectations of private advantages to themſelves; but, if we take away all grounds of ſuch pernicious hopes, then the elector will not be expoſed to corrupt ſolicitations; he will give his vote with freedom; he will be free, and his repreſentatives will be independent. But whoever is ſo unworthy to aſſume a ſeat acquired by corruption, will not heſitate to practiſe every mode of baſeneſs, and conſider his ſeat in p———t as a purchaſe made for his own ſeparate benefit. To deſtroy all ſuch ſelfiſh expectations, it was provided by the act of ſettlement, "that no perſon who had any office or "place of profit under the king, or penſion from the crown, "was to ſerve as member of the Houſe of Commons."

This act is no leſs the bulwark of our liberties than Magna Charta, ſince Magna Charta and all other acts are but blank paper, unleſs the repreſentative body be independent. I truſt we ſhall live to ſee the act of ſettlement revived! And may the ſentence denounced by the biſhops againſt the breakers of Magna Charta fall upon thoſe who ſhall attempt to infringe or invalidate a law upon which the well being of our conſtitution depends.

THE CHANGEABLE CREATURE.

A new Song on an old Subject.

O'ER ſeas and bleak mountains let travellers roam,
The changes of manners and climate to ſcan;
Dame Nature's vagaries I'll trace nearer home,
And ſing what a changeable creature is man.

To

To far fam'd St. Stephen's tribune I'll repair,
Where Tories and Whigs the dup'd people trepan;
Impoſtors on each ſide the ſenate appear,
And the miniſter is but a changeable man.

When climbing to pow'r his young virtue detected
The people's loſt rights and his country's diſgrace;
But rais'd to the ſummit, the ladder's neglected,
For who e'er beheld a reformer in place.

Our cidevant patriots have quitted the field,
With Richmond's magnanimous duke in the van;
For freedom's ſtout champions to policy yield,
And prove what a changeable creature is man.

Then while ſtateſmen betray and mock-patriots deceive,
To guard freedom's ſtandard ſhall ſtill be our plan;
We'll talk not of names, but to principles cleave,
Nor truſt in a changeable creature like man.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the following worthy a place in your excellent work, by inſerting it, you will oblige a conſtant reader.

LIBERTAS.

Patriotic Heroiſm.

THE patriot arm of Brutus gave the blow,
Which caus'd the Roman tyrant's overthrow.
In modern times we ſee a Brutus riſe,
Who more than life does freedom prize.
Ankarſtrom! ſacred name, to virtue dear,
Arm'd in thy cauſe, O liberty! he ſcorn'd all fear;

But

But boldly took the fatal aim
To free his country, and gain'd immortal fame.
For that he ſhot the deſpot of the Swede,
And bravely died for the heroic deed.

An Occaſional Song for 1794.

LET fame's loud clarion ſound from far,
Charg'd with the diſmal notes of war;
No laurel ſhall our temples find,
For triumphs o'er oppreſs'd mankind;
But ſacred this glad hour ſhall be,
To friendſhip, peace, and liberty.

Let tyrants ſtill deſtruction breathe,
And glory in the field of death;
Ardent we'll ſeek our country's good,
Yet love the human brotherhood;
And tune the ſong with ſocial glee,
To friendſhip, peace, and liberty.

Britons the dire deluſion paſt,
To reaſon's voice ſhall bow at laſt;
Nor longer preſs the hoſtile plain,
To ſpread ſome haughty deſpot's reign;
But ſacred all their pow'rs ſhall be
To friendſhip, peace, and liberty.

Ev'n now would fancy's eye explore,
The reign of peace from ſhore to ſhore;
Ev'n now amidſt the ſtorms of war,
She welcomes freedom's riſing ſtar;
Then tune the ſong with ſocial glee,
To freedom, peace, and liberty.

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1794.

THE EAST INDIA CHARTER considered.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

IF weakneſs, diſorder, diſunion, and diſſolution, be the general laws of extenſive and detached empire, laws which reſult from the natural conſtitution of things, laws legible in every page of hiſtory, ſtill more do theſe conſequences reſult from the peculiar nature of our Aſiatic territories.

All thoſe powerful and extenſive dominations, which in various ages have aſtoniſhed the world, have ariſen from ſome great and adequate cauſe, ſome one ſingle, great, and ſplendid power. In the *Roman* legions, *Alexander*'s armies, and the irreſiſtable bands of *Saladin*, we ſee cauſes adequate to the important effects produced; we ſee a great concentered power ſpreading its domination over countries

tries which preſented no barrier to the torrent. They manifeſted ſtrength well proportioned to their effects, and it was merely from the natural operation of time, in undermining that ſtrength, the danger reſulted; but in our Aſiatic adventures, the cauſes which have produced ſuch extenſive and baneful effects, appear to have been of as accidental and tranſitory a nature, as that which may occaſion its overthrow; it is an empire not merely terminating, but commencing in weakneſs and diſunion. No *Alexander*, *Ceſar*, or *Saladin*, appears to our view. Mr. *Dundas* cannot unveil to us the conquerors of Hindoſtan: he is forced to amuſe us with the unintelligible jargon of "The king, being the ſovereign; the parliament, the great ſuperintending authority; and the company, the inſtrument through which that authority is to be adminiſtered." The ſource and nature of that power, which has produced theſe baneful effects, are thus unknown. It is involved in darkneſs. It works in obſcurity. Such power, however well calculated for ſpreading deſolation and ruin, is certainly very ill fitted for rearing a mighty empire. Rats and moles can undermine and deſtroy, but I never heard that they could rear or build.

The arrangement Mr. *Dundas* has made of this mighty power ſeems to be leſs clear, than that to which ſome think it bears the neareſt reſemblance; the Grand Seignor, the Janiſſaries, and the Pacha. In this latter arrangement, the ſovereign, the great ſuperintending authority, and the inſtrument of that authority, are very obvious; but in Mr. *Dundas*'s the mighty inſtruments, who have governed, and are to govern, India, are perfectly unnoticed, though they ought to have conſtituted the fourth, or rather the firſt, order in his claſſification. In a former ſpeech, his majeſty lamented, how inadequate this inſtrument, the company,

was

was to the taſk of governing the *real* inſtruments of authority in India; but, now it ſeems, thoſe inſtruments in India are perfectly unnoticed, and men, women, and children, under the denomination of an honourable Eaſt India Company, are themſelves become the inſtruments. That ſuch an heterogenous maſs may poſſeſs ſovereign dignity, I mean not to diſpute, becauſe, it is not eaſy to diſcover human beings more unfitting to exerciſe authority, than thoſe in whom ſovereignty is frequently placed, but then the real authority is uſually exerciſed by *inſtruments*, and it was a diſcovery worthy of Mr. *Dundas*, that theſe men, women, and children, could poſſibly become the *inſtruments* of government themſelves.

Should this ſpeech of Mr. *Dundas*'s, as an ancient manuſcript, fall into the hands of ſome Dr. *Bentley*, he may venture a conjectural emendation: he may obſerve that as *tool* and *inſtrument* frequently have the ſame import, ſome blundering tranſcriber had ſubſtituted one term for the other, and their having in this paſſage a very different meaning, was a circumſtance to which the tranſcriber had not adverted. He might obſerve, that there was evidently an omiſſion alſo in the manuſcript, and, that the inſtruments of this government had been omitted by latter tranſcribers, in conſequence of the former error of the company being termed ſuch: conſequently that the true reading was, The King, the Sovereign; the Parliament, the ſuperintending authority; the company, the tool for conveniently conducting this government; and, that the *real inſtruments* who conducted this government, were, owing to the careleſsneſs of the tranſcribers, unfortunately omitted in the manuſcript. He might ſupport this criticiſm by obſerving, that though the ſovereign or ſuperintending authority, might not, yet, it was impoſſible, but that the *inſtruments*

of

of government muſt be in the country governed: and, as the learned ſometimes write in the vulgar tongue, he might exclaim, that he was aſtoniſhed that any perſon who pretended to learning, could prove himſelf ſuch a ſtupid dolt as to ſuppoſe, that, the inhabitants of a northern iſland not the moſt conſiderable in the world, an iſland which had but recently emerged from a ſtate of barbariſm, ſhould dream of governing the moſt extenſive and fertile countries in an oppoſite region of the earth. That to govern a people ſo oppoſite to themſelves, in manners, and ſituation, was a taſk which even the moſt enlightened people would never have thought of; and that theſe European iſlanders ever governed Aſia was too extravagant to be imagined; that the manuſcript in queſtion could not poſſibly refer to any other than piratical adventures, to which iſlanders were ever peculiarly prone as they naturally apply to maritime affairs. Secure from the aggreſſions of their neighbours, they have nothing to reſtrain them from violating the peace and happineſs of others, but a ſenſe of moral principle, or national honour, which rarely exiſted in that early ſtage of civilization to which theſe iſlanders had arrived. That the firſt and barbarous ſtages of ſociety were aſſociations, rather for the purpoſes of aggreſſion than defence; the ſpirit of rapine long continuing, even after ſome degree of civilization appeared in the world, and that this ſpirit of rapine was, in that ſtage of ſociety, rendered moſt dangerous, by the ſtrength it derived from the improvements and diſcoveries the people poſſeſſed beyond their more ignorant predeceſſors. They had not then learned that important truth, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the civilized from barbarous ages, that the value of the earth depends on its quiet enjoyment, and is deſtroyed by violence and outrage. Secure, by their ſituation, from all fear of retaliation, they occupied

occupied themſelves in ranging the world to inſult, and to plunder ; and, having not attained any reſpect for government, as a mere civil inſtitution, their kings were tempted to encourage this ſyſtem of rapine, as gratifying a licentious rabble was then the only means of attaching them to a government.

Such, he might ſay, was the ſtate of theſe barbarous iſlanders, in the eighteenth century; and, as the magnet had been then recently diſcovered, they might engage in extenſive and piratical expeditions to Aſia and Africa ; which, being of more conſiderable importance than thoſe of preceding pirates, they might dignify them with the terms *conqueſt*, *government*, *territories*, and *poſſeſſions*. They might make partial ſettlements on coaſts, or temporary excurſions into countries ; they might, under fraudulent pretences, obtain admiſſion into nations, and then, by intriguing with profligate natives, diſturb peaceable governments; and might avail themſelves of the diſturbance they had excited to plunder and murder the inhabitants. He might obſerve that, as Aſia had for many ages been in a ſtate of civilization, it was peculiarly liable to the outrage of theſe northern iſlanders ; as a long and ſettled ſtate of high civilization, by introducing peace, order, tranquility, and the milder diſpoſitions of the mind, equally qualified men to partake of the moſt perfect enjoyments of civil life, and unfitted them to defend that enjoyment from the outrages of more barbarous and ſavage nations. But ſtill, he might ſay, that it was impoſſible that the extenſive civilized countries of Aſia could ever have been governed by any perſons reſident in a northern iſland; their enterpriſes muſt either have been of a predatory nature, or, if any of them by intrigue, or artifice, had obtained any kind of eſtabliſh-

ment,

ment, they muſt have been abſorbed amongſt the natives, or become members of an Aſiatic government.

Such may be the erroneous reaſoning into which future ages may be miſled, unleſs we tranſmit them ſome little intimation of the nature and origin of our claim to the government of Aſia, and the means by which it is to be conducted. In theſe reſpects the ſpeeches of Mr. *Dundas* and the *King*, or the *King* and Mr. *Dundas*, for I know not the proper order of precedency, appear to me to afford no light. The diſtinction of the *ſovereign*, *controling*, and *inſtrumental* authorities, to me, conveys no idea; and as little could I underſtand Mr. *Fox*'s meaning of governing India by a ſtrong government at home. I can eaſily underſtand making government ſtrong at home, by governing India; which certainly is a ſubject worthy the violent conteſt it has occaſioned: but ſtill the affairs of India muſt be conducted by perſons in India, and all the diſpute muſt terminate in whom the appointment of theſe India ſovereigns ſhall be veſted, whether in the *Miniſters*, the *Parliament*, or the *Company*; or, whether it ſhall be ſhared amongſt them all. But if government be, as Mr. *Burke* defines it, a contrivance of human wiſdom, to ſupply human wants, let it be aſked, whoſe wants are to be ſupplied by this contrivance of human wiſdom? The wants of Aſia will be very oddly ſupplied, by forcing them to ſend three millions per annum to England; and this treatment of India muſt certainly claim a very different epithet to that of government.

In an age, when the ſmall glimmering of reaſon, which the art of printing had opened to us, is ſo univerſally reprobated; and Mr. *Burke* is ſo kindly leading us back to the ignorance of the 14th century, I hope it will not be imagined that I object to any meaſures merely on the ground

of

of their being hoſtile to *juſtice*, *humanity*, *reaſon*, *liberty*, *the rights of man*, or any other *French* principles. I only mean to aſk why muſt our language be diſtorted, and involved in all the confuſion of Babel? If it be deemed expedient to *murder* half the inhabitants of India, and *rob* the remainder, ſurely it is not requiſite to call it *governing* them. If we chooſe to ſeize, and carry off the inhabitants of Africa, what is the uſe of terming it a *trade?* And if we convert our Weſt India iſlands into jails to confine them, why, in the name of common ſenſe, muſt they be called *colonies?* But the confuſion of language reſpecting India is ſtill more curious; for, as nobody knows what is the government, or to whom it appertains, ſo it is not attempted to define what is its relation to this country. Mr. *Dundas* contents himſelf with ſaying that they are not *colonies*. His majeſty calls them *territories* and *poſſeſſions*. But to whom do they belong? not to the people of England; for, ſtrange to tell, they are the only people on the face of the earth who are forbidden to *haunt*, or *viſit* them. The Americans, when they compoſed a part of the Britiſh empire, were forbid to *haunt*, or *viſit* them: but the moment they became independent they might reſort to them without controul. An *Engliſhman* is forbid even to paſs the Cape of Good-Hope. Is the king the ſovereign? ſo he is of Hanover: but it has not therefore any relation to this country. Are they the poſſeſſions of the India Company? Who are the India Company? A non-deſcript *aſſemblage!* many of whom are foreigners; it is not indeed requiſite that there ſhould be a ſcore of Engliſhmen amongſt them. The preſent proprietors may ſell their ſhares to the national convention of France, and *Marat*, *Roberſpierre*, *T. Paine and Co.* may become the Eaſt India Company. But whether we trade with, or whether we

plunder

plunder the Indies, the uſe of continuing ſuch a company no one can imagine. But in this age of wonders, this is the very circumſtance which Mr. *Dundas* preſſes on the houſe to recommend it to their notice. He ſays, "*The propoſitions he had to recommend were inconſiſtent with the opinions generally received. No political writer, as far as he knew, had recommended a mercantile company as the organ of government for a great country, and that, for reaping the full advantage of commercial intercourſe, all the moſt eſteemed writers had ſaid a free trade was beſt.*" Lord *Grenville* follows the ſame line, ſtill more clearly, in the Houſe of Lords; and his ſhort ſpeech illuſtrates moſt forcibly the taſte, and manners of the preſent æra. He tells them, "*He ſhould not enter into any detail on the ſubject of our India poſſeſſions, or any ſpeculative diſcuſsion of the mode in which India ought to be governed. The ground he had to go on was a juſt and well founded experience, a guide which was, at all times, perhaps, the beſt, but peculiarly ſo under ſuch circumſtances as exiſted at preſent.*" Well then, it might be ſuppoſed he would have ſhewn, from this experience, the conſequences which have reſulted from our government of India. By no means! his lordſhip very pithily tells them, "*The preſent ſyſtem has continued nine years: therefore he could ſee no juſt reaſon why it ſhould be altered. The preſent bill, of courſe, aſſumed for its principle the continuance of the preſent ſyſtem.*" Here, then, its paſſing *ſub-ſilentio* is accounted for: it is, it ſeems, *a bill of courſe;* it has exiſted nine years, *ergo* it is to exiſt twenty longer. The word *experience* is, it ſeems, condemned to change with the times, and, inſtead of meaning the deduction of wiſdom, from a careful and deliberate inveſtigation of the great chain of paſt events, it now means only a continuance of a nine years ſyſtem, without any inveſtigation, or any diſcuſſion whatever

ever. And the univerſal and unqualified condemnation of Dr. *Smith*, Dean *Tucker*, and every other author whoſe opinion is worth attending to, and who had profeſſedly formed their opinions from the deduction of experience, is urged even as a recommendation of a meaſure, under the idea that *philoſophers* and *reaſoners* are to be contemned.

[*To be continued.*]

ORIGIN OF TITLES.

TITLES of honour were originally inſtituted as the rewards of ſuperior merit and learning. In almoſt all the ancient Commonwealths, particularly in thoſe of Greece, Rome, and Carthage, where the arts and ſciences flouriſhed in the moſt eminent degree; the *Patricians* were generally regarded as the oracles of ſcience and learning; and the ſtudy of the ſciences, were conſidered as moſt eſſential acquiſitions in the ancient ſyſtem of Patrician education. The moſt diſtinguiſhed and remarkable productions of the ancient hiſtorians, politicians, rhetoricians, orators, and philoſophers, originated principally in the ſuperior and improved capacity of illuſtrious perſons.

The revolutions of time have introduced a ſurpriſing change in the annals of ſcience.

That *Amor Scientiæ*, which formerly engaged the attention of the enlightened and ſpeculative mind of the all-enquiring Patrician, is now generally conſidered as an uſeleſs exotic, calculated ſolely for the purpoſes of plebeian cultivation.

The animadverſion of Pope, that

"Titles were made for honeſt men and wiſe,
"The fool or knave who wears a title, lies."

It

It is extremely judicious, nor does it admit of refutation, that as titles are the proper rewards of merit and abilities, without theſe neceſſary qualifications to ſupport them, they are only ſo many *libels* upon the underſtanding of mankind.

MR. EDITOR,

As few of your readers may have an opportunity of peruſing the good old ancient authors: I ſhall be glad to accommodate them through your intelligent paper, with ſuch communications from their writings, as may be both entertaining and informing.

Your's, &c.

EXTRACTOR.

On the Septennial Act.

THE ſeptennial act is freſh in every man's memory.

Frequent parliaments were ever looked upon as the greateſt defence of the liberty of the ſubject; and the triennial law was eſteemed one of the moſt eſſential advantages gained by the revolution. But the neceſſity of affairs forced the laſt parliament, in their ſecond ſeſſions, to continue themſelves, and eſtabliſh a precedent which may hereafter point out to ſome future miniſtry, a method of keeping together a Houſe of Commons compoſed of their creatures and penſioners, until they have deſtroyed and overturned the conſtitution. The danger apprehended from the Pretender and his adherents, forced the legiſlature into this meaſure, however it might be repreſented by our enemies as unjuſtifiable, for a ſet of men, intruſted by the kingdom for three years only, to prolong their truſt for four years, without the conſent of their principals.

On

On Standing Armies.

STANDING armies have ever frightened all the friends of liberty; and it is illegal to keep an extraordinary number of men on foot, in time of peace, without the conſent of parliament. After the treaty of Ryſwick, his late Majeſty King William was forced to caſhier his troops, though in times of danger. And this was done, when *Lewis* XIVth was living, who had the power, as well as inclination, to diſtreſs us. Queen Anne, to the glory of her adminiſtration, as ſoon as ſhe had concluded the peace of *Utrecht*, removed all the jealouſies which her ſubjects might have entertained, had ſhe kept her army together, and, without expecting the remonſtrances of parliament, voluntarily diſbanded it.

OUR country is famous for having maintained her liberties, whilſt moſt of our neighbours were loſing of theirs; and the reaſon that has given us this great advantage over the reſt of *Europe*, is, that the limits impoſed on the crown, were inviolably maintained and defended by authority of parliament: and we may be ſecure of tranſmitting theſe bleſſings to future ages, whilſt there ſhall remain the ſame ſteadineſs and reſolution in thoſe who are the proper guardians of our religion and laws.—Though its limits now are unbounded, through the baſe venality of a corrupt parliament.

Mr.

MR. EDITOR,

Obſervations on things preſent and paſt, may be agreeable to your periodical publication. If ſo, by inſerting the following, you may command a further correſpondence with, Sir,

Your's
ABSTRACTOR.

WHEN we ſee tyrants arming for the ſake of ſupporting excluſive privileges or prerogatives, againſt liberty, humanity, and common juſtice, is it no ttime that men ſhould explode the principle which occaſions ſuch continual war with their comforts and tranquility?

It is not contention between ſtate and ſtate, or country and country, that embroils ſociety at this time, but between *monarchy* and *liberty;* between the *aſſumption* of kings, and the *rights* of men.

With reſpect to the troubles and diſorders in France, that have occurred ſubſequent to the revolution of that kingdom, they are no example of terror to other nations, for the reaſon, that, they are not ſo much an argument againſt the conſtitution that was eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly, as that they have been owing to the diabolical and preſumptuous alliances that have been forming againſt the nation, and the daring meaſures that have been taken by the armies of monarchs and tyrants, to re-eſtabliſh monarchy in that country. It is to this execrable combination, and not to the principles of the conſtitution; except to the unfortunate one of having ever ſuffered the *hereditary ſucceſsion* to exiſt in the then royal family, or in any other part of ſociety; I obſerve, that, it is owing to the combination againſt France, and not ſo much to the conſtitution that embroils the nation in the preſent troubles. But if we

under-

underſtand the human character, and conſider that it is natural to mankind to aſſimilate in thought, when reaſon ſhall be illuminated, we may perceive that the hand of Deſpotic Power will progreſſively be diſarmed of its authority, as Reaſon and Information ſhall extend their qualifying effects among the armies who are ſeduced againſt Liberty.

It is not difficult to perceive that no one country or ſtate, ſo nearly contiguous as thoſe ſituated on the continent of Europe, and poſſeſſing monarchical principles and connexions, will, probably, be at entire peace until monarchy ſhall be generally annihilated among them. Monarchy may exiſt, artificially, for awhile, by means of armies, whoſe minds are kept ignorant of the rights of human nature, eſtranged to the ſocial duties of ſociety, and trained to be the machines of venal purpoſes and arrogant characters: by this means, I obſerve, that monarchy may float in the field, and perhaps get a temporary footing in ſome places, for awhile, but will never regain a peaceable eſtabliſhment among men. Mankind look at it as a hideous monſter, and are ſtruck with a reſentful terror at its approach, which will ever inſpire them to arm and concur in repelling it, wherever it ſhall appear: and when it ſhall be defeated in its wanton career abroad, it will find itſelf an outcaſt whenever it ſhall attempt to return to the home it left; ſo that there will be no ſituation for it on the face of the earth. Years may be employed in bloodſhed and warfare, but Freedom will triumph ultimately, and man be brought home to man, and ſociety be happy.

Fellow

Fellow Citizen,

By inſerting the following lines, written by a patriotic female, on a tried and approved patriot, you will oblige

ONE OF THE HERD.

The Tribute of an humble Muſe to the Memory of JOSEPH GERRALD.

HAIL Gerrald! martyr to thy country's cauſe!
Thy name ſhall long reſound with ſweet applauſe;
Thy matchleſs virtues time ſhall ne'er eraſe,
Tho' thou art baniſh'd by a lawleſs race;
And while the veſſel ploughs the watry main,
That leads to diſtant ſhores the baneleſs train,
O may that guardian Power who guides the juſt,
And turns the plans of feeble men to duſt,
Suſtain thy drooping frame, thy ſpirits chear,
Diſpel thy doubts, and leave thee nought to fear.
Go then, with nameleſs bleſſings on thy head;
Secur'd by innocence, by virtue led,
And may the glorious cauſe which fires thy ſoul,
Spread with greater influence from pole to pole;
In every Britiſh heart may freedom glow,
And deſpotiſm feel the deadly blow;
Then ſhall the ſervile ſycophants of power,
Theſe poor dependants on the preſent hour;
No more will prejudice unrivall'd ſway,
But thoſe who govern then ſhall now obey,
No more injuſtice, with her iron hand,
With perſecuting rage, o'erſpread the land;
May liberty's fair theme exalted reign,
Sound it, ye bards! in a ſublimer ſtrain!
Bid Gerrald live, till Time's ſubduing hand
Drives foul Oppreſſion from this perjured land;

Then,

Then, fraught with honor and a mind at eaſe,
May'ſt thou return to end thy days in peace;
When call'd by death a ſecond time we'll mourn,
While tears of virtue conſecrate thy urn.

M. B.

PADDY's DEPARTURE;

Or, An *Iriſh* Account of French Affairs.

By W. D. Grant.

Tune,—"When I was a young man in ſweet Tipperary."

DON'T blubber, dear Norah, I beg you'd be eaſy,
For ſoon will you ſee your fond Paddy again;
Returning with laurels, with liberty crazy,
An eye or two leſs, or a limb or two lame.

CHORUS.

Sing ditheru, how d'ye do, Patrick Shelalay?
To the right about, fight it out all the day long;
Cut and ſlaſh, Frenchmen haſh, pop away gaily,
Suck away, while you may, whiſkey ſo ſtrong!

I'm going to beat all the Frenchmen, my jewel,
Becauſe they preſume to make laws of their own;
They want all men EQUAL—that would be damn'd cruel,
For then each great monarch muſt jump from his throne.

Sing ditheru, &c.

Then what do you think of their roguiſh Convention?
They plunder'd the biſhops becauſe they were poor;
Depriv'd ev'ry knave of his title and penſion,
And turn'd all the nuns and the monks out o'door.

Sing ditheru, &c.

And then they've aboliſh'd belief in damnation,
To ſave the expence of a prieſt or a church ;
For now, I am told, *ſans-culottes* congregation
Have left popes, and croſiers, and beads in the lurch.
Sing ditheru, &c.

Their prieſts have come over to live by ſubſcription,
No doubt it's much better than feeding on frogs ;
I'd make them a gift of a fitter deſcription,
By ſubſcribing—a halter a-piece to the dogs.
Sing ditheru, &c.

Of treaſon they think that a king can be guilty !
Their own they condemn'd for not keeping his word ;
They ſay, to their ſubjects all kings ſhould ſwear fealty,
Not their ſubjects to them—Och ! monſtrous abſurd.
Sing ditheru, &c.

And as, (what exceeds all their former tranſgreſſions)
They've trampl'd on kingcraft, and pull'd down her throne ;
Let's unite with the Auſtrians, Pruſſians, and Heſſians ;
As we're without ſin, let us caſt the firſt ſtone.
Sing ditheru, &c.

Now let's drink ſucceſs to thoſe great Northern heroes,
Empreſs Kate, Prince Cobourg, the brave Duke of York !
So, *Citoyens Francois !* mind how you come near us,
Or expect to be all cut in pieces like pork !
Sing ditheru, &c.

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1794.

THE EAST INDIA CHARTER considered.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

ALL that is now deemed requiſite in inveſtigating a ſubject, is to ſhew that it is not contaminated with French principles; and on this ſtrong ground the India bill is brought forward, and indeed I do not hear that it has been accuſed of being the leaſt tinctured with *reaſon, juſtice, humanity, confraternity, liberty, equality*, or the *rights of man*. But ſtill, may it not be aſked, if every thing that has exiſted is therefore to be continued, and its effects, and conſequences, are not to be inveſtigated under pain of being charged with introducing innovations; have not *Marat* and *Roberſpierre*, as much right to avail themſelves of the doctrine, as Mr. *Dundas* and Lord *Grenville*? May it not be urged in the *National Aſſembly* as well as in St. *Stephen's chapel?*

chapel? If the proceedings of the one are to be open to the exaggerations of falſehood, ſhall the other claim an exemption even from the inveſtigation of truth? If the murders, the deſolation, or the confuſion, which the meaſures of the one may have introduced, are to be cenſured, ſhall the others boaſt of them as a merit, and urge them as a plea for their continuance? Or on the contrary, if the proceedings of the one aſſembly, or the other, are to be judged of, it muſt be through the medium of our reaſon; and to this judicature they muſt both be ſubject, or both have equally a right to demur. In one reſpect both Lord *Grenville* and Mr. *Dundas* have certainly very carefully avoided French principles: for, while they talk to us of governing India, the effects on the people governed, or the benefits which *they* are to derive are intirely and properly unnoticed. That would, indeed, be wandering into the regions of vain theory. That is a ſubject on which an appeal to *reaſon*, or to *experience*, would be equally futile. All that is attempted is "*To remind gentlemen of the advantages in poſſeſſion, and which it muſt naturally be their firſt object to ſecure.*"

About eleven years ſince there was an extraordinary paſſage in his majeſty's ſpeech.—'The diligence and ardour with which you have entered upon the conſideration of the Britiſh intereſts in the Eaſt-Indies, are worthy of your wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity. To protect the perſons, and fortunes of millions in theſe diſtant regions, and to combine our proſperity with their happineſs, are objects which will amply repay the utmoſt labour and exertion.'—To engage with diligence and ardour in protecting perſons and property, in the diſtant regions of the earth, is a work which the term juſtice almoſt degrades. I do not think that the mere call of juſtice can compel us to abandon our iſland and repair to Aſia, Africa

or the Weſt Indies, for ſuch generous purpoſes. It ought to be claſſed among the heroic virtues. It is an offer of confraternity of the moſt ſtupendous nature; and, when we engage in it, will amply repay our utmoſt labour and exertion, as 'the combining our proſperity with their happineſs,' is a taſk which, when we effect it, will illuſtrate our wiſdom.

But there ſeems to be a great diſſonance in the ſpeeches of 1782 and 1793, though probably it may be not worth noticing; for, however rigorouſly unity of place may be adhered to in this ſpecies of compoſition, yet unity of deſign may not be deemed ſo eſſential. A great change in our phraſeology has ſince 1782 taken place. Mr. Dundas's plan is far more intelligible; it ſeems to conſiſt merely in ſending ſome perſons to India, to bring away three millions per annum, or as much more as they can poſſibly procure; and in dividing this (ſhall I call it plunder?) among the various expectants, ſeems to conſiſt the whole difficulty of the plan. But he does not pretend to talk about juſtice, wiſdom, humanity, protection, proſperity, and happineſs; they now ſmell too ſtrongly of French principles to be admitted as the ornaments of a ſpeech; they are not deemed requiſite even as the paper and packthread, to tie up the parliamentary manufacture.

When Mr. Dundas tritely ſtates that the country governed had advanced in proſperity, he muſt be ſuppoſed to mean, that the country had been proſperous for thoſe who governed it; for ſurely he cannot mean to inſinuate, that any part of India has advanced in proſperity ſince it has been ſeized by us, becauſe there exiſts too evident proof to the contrary. If it be true, let the important fact be clearly and explicitly ſtated; that, indeed, would be an appeal to experience, and bring the diſpute to a fair iſſue.

Strong

Strong and clear is the evidence of the happineſs of Aſia at various periods, and under various governments. The harſheſt deſpotiſm the people have ever experienced is mild and beneficent, when compared with what they have endured under the domination of Engliſhmen. Mr. Dundas ſays 'Lord Clive, the great founder of our territorial 'power, was greater in the arrangements he made for 'peace than even in the victory of Plaſſey.' Arrangements great indeed! The moment we poſſeſſed the ſovereignty the whole property of the land was ſeized on, every proprietor diſpoſſeſſed, and the whole nation put up to auction to the beſt bidder by the Engliſh. Not content with the whole poſſeſſion of the country, it was contrived, at one ſtroke, to drain it of all its ſpecie, by monopolizing its principal articles of conſumption. Theſe were dealt out to the people till all their effects were extorted; when theſe failed, the land became ſpread with the dying bodies of the inhabitants, and twice the number of the inhabitants of Great Britain fell by peſtilence and famine, a ſacrifice to theſe great arrangements, which were made by five members of the Britiſh legiſlature. But the calamities of India terminated not with extorting the whole property of the inhabitants, for the taxes were increaſed and exacted, when the means of paying them had ceaſed. The manufacturers even cut off their thumbs, that they might not be compelled to work without hire, to ſupply the company's inveſtments.

But probably Mr. Dundas, by advanced proſperity, means only diminiſhed horror, and that the plains of Bengal have never ſince produced ſuch a rich harveſt of death. —Granted.—To deſtroy twenty millions per annum of the inhabitants of a country containing fifty, was a ratio of deſolation that muſt neceſſarily decreaſe. The continu-

ance

ance of a violent diſeaſe deſtroys the violence of its ſymptoms. The vital ſtream which flows rapidly when firſt opened, muſt naturally decreaſe, till it only falls in drops from the expiring victim. I will grant that it is poſſible that meaſures leſs violent may have been ſince adopted, becauſe their continuance would have defeated their object. The richeſt country in the world, without inhabitants, without circulation, and without ſome degree of ſecurity, would become as worthleſs to the poſſeſſors as the Lybian ſands. But indeed, Mr. Dundas, to do him juſtice, conſiders the happineſs or miſery of Aſia, as ſo perfectly beneath conſideration in this affair, that he owns he ſhould perſiſt in his preſent plan, 'Even though the adminiſtra-'tion of the company were ſtill attended with all the abu-'ſes that had been formerly charged upon it, and that he 'ſhould have preferred enduring theſe abuſes, if they ad-'mitted no other remedy.' Indeed, the merit of this heroic fortitude with which Mr. Dundas could endure the calamities of India, when placed in oppoſition to any advantages reſulting to this country, may poſſibly admit of ſome abatement when we recollect, that it does not appear to require any prodigious portion of Stoiciſm, for a man in St. Stephen's chapel to endure the calamities of fifty millions of people in a diſtant region of the earth, eſpecially if he ſhould happen to derive revenue and patronage from their miſeries. Indeed, this great philoſopher can endure with equal fortitude all the calamities which we ſpread over Africa and the Weſt Indies, as well as thoſe brought on France.

But I muſt now beg pardon of my readers for attempting to ridicule or reprobate our pretences to govern India, as it is done by Mr. Dundas himſelf, with a point and force which I will not pretend to equal. When he talk-

ed

ed of 'the advantages we derived from the preſent ſyſ-
'tem,' when he 'reminded the houſe of the advantages
'actually in poſſeſſion,' his addreſs was ſerious and ſolemn, becoming the importance of the ſubject. He conſidered it as intereſting their feelings, and concluded very properly and very emphatically, 'That thoſe advantages it would
'naturally be their firſt object to ſecure.' Having drawn their attention to this important point, he, with great earneſtneſs, labours there to confine it, anxiouſly cautions them againſt being drawn aſide to any other enquiry, than the important one, the advantages we derived from the preſent ſyſtem; all beyond he treated as vain ſpeculation; and the ridiculous idea of our governing India, ruſhes ſo forcibly on his mind, that the grave, elaborate, ſententious ſtateſman, becomes inſtantly metamorphoſed into a perfect Rabelais, and he entertains the houſe with the following amuſing and inſtructive fact: 'Soon after the acquiſition of
'the dewanee (that is our aſſuming the government of
'India) a new ſet of gentlemen were ſent out to ſuperintend
'the government, and the court of judicature was eſtabliſh-
'ed. By theſe gentlemen, as well as by the old ſervants
'of the company in India, many able reports were ſent
'home; and the noble lord, then at the head of adminiſ-
'tration, ſubmitted them to the conſideration of ingenious
'men, in order to form a digeſt for the government of Ben-
'gal, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the mode of letting
'land, &c. On no one of the points ſubmitted to them
'could any two of theſe able men agree.'

Had not common ſenſe, common juſtice, and common humanity, been ſtigmatized as French principles, ſurely the deduction from this fact was plain and obvious. I mean not to diſpute that prodigious anxiety his majeſty feels 'to protect the perſons and fortunes of millions in diſtant

'(as

'(as well as neighbouring) regions; but when his majeſty's wiſdom, and the wiſdom of his miniſters, aſſiſted by the wiſdom of all the experienced ſervants of the company, and of that noble lord who, Mr. Dundas tells us, was greater for the arrangements he made for the government of the country, than even in founding our territorial power; nay, when all this wiſdom, with the experience and wiſdom of the ſet of gentlemen who were ſent out by the wiſdom of government, for the expreſs purpoſe of inveſtigating and ſuperintending, on the ſpot, the government and juriſprudence of the country; and when this bundle of wiſdom was combined with the wiſdom of all the ingenious men at home, to whom the importation of wiſdom from the eaſt was ſubmitted; I do think, that when this climax of wiſdom appeared to be ſo inadequate to the taſk, as that no two of them could agree on the ſubject, his majeſty might, conſiſtently with the ſublimeſt ideas of juſtice and humanity, have declined the taſk of 'protecting the perſons of 'millions in diſtant regions.' I would ſubmit it to the bench of biſhops, whether it could have been deemed criminal in his majeſty, under ſuch circumſtances, to have left the inhabitants of diſtant regions to their fate; nay, I would ſubmit it as a caſe of conſcience, to our new friend the pope, whether it would have been any more than a venial ſin, to have left Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saib the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Myſore; at leaſt till there exiſted more clear and deciſive evidence, than I have ever yet met with, of the advantage the perſons and property of the inhabitants of diſtant regions, derive from being taken under the protection of his majeſty's Chriſtian ſcepter.

[*To be continued.*]

MR. EDITOR,

The Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, at the preſent time, is a moſt unneceſſary ſtretch of power, obtained under the moſt frivolous pretences, with the view of ſtopping the mouths of an highly injured People from murmuring at the dreadful loſs of blood and treaſure, and the appearance of ultimate ruin, which will moſt certainly be the caſe by prolonging and continuing this unjuſt and unprincipled war. The following Extracts from a noble author are deſired to be admitted, by,

Sir, Your Conſtant Reader.

PRIDDEZIO.

On the Suſpenſion Act.

THIS power, veſted in the crown for the public ſecurity, may, if unjuſtly executed, prove the ruin of many faithful and honeſt Britons.

If hereafter a corrupt and wicked adminiſtration ſhould intend the ſubverſion of the ſtate, and find it neceſſary to remove all thoſe Patriots who appeared the moſt zealous aſſertors of Liberty, the manner in which they would endeavor to work the deſtruction of ſuch *True Britons* would be, I fear, rendered moſt eaſy and practicable, if they could, by forming a *ſham-plot*, perſuade the Legiſlature, it was neceſſary to intruſt them with ſuch an unlimited power.

A Parliament willing to be ſubſervient to a Court, would not require proofs to be made of a conſpiracy; but, on the ſingle word of the miniſters, would cheerfully do all that ſhould be aſked of them; and it would certainly be in the power of ſuch a Parliament *to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be diſpoſed of by him arbitrarily, and at his pleaſure, and expreſsly contrary to laws enacted for the ſecurity*

of

of the Subjects. When once they had ſtrengthened their hands with ſuch a law, then they would apprehend thoſe who were the moſt obnoxious to them, and confine them in the moſt barbarous manner, without ſhewing the leaſt regard to decency or humanity.

In order to procure evidence to convict ſuch unfortunate men of treaſon, they would have recourſe to *bribery*, which will always be the great engine of Tyranny. Proper tools would be ſet to work to find men of convenient principles for the attaining this wicked end, which would be ſtiled, *Doing of Juſtice to an injured Nation.*

The fatal inſtances England can produce of the barbarity of former reigns, muſt certainly ſhew clearly the great bleſſings of this Act. The caſes of *Ruſſel* and *Sidney* are freſh in every man's memory; and the latter was convicted on ſimilitude of hands: ſuch was the violence of the times againſt him. His attainder was afterwards reverſed, and one of the cauſes aſſigned for the obliterating of it is, the nature of the evidence on which he was condemned. How ſimilar the preſent times!

On the Venality of Miniſters of State.

THAT Miniſter is a bleſſing to the country where he preſides, who acts with impartiality and honor in the ſtation where the favor of the Crown has placed him; and when it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to take him from this world, leaves no accumulated fortune behind him, which may remain a monument of the public robberies he muſt have committed to gain ſuch immenſe treaſure during the time of his adminiſtration. Of this great

quality

quality the earls of Godolphin and Stanhope ‡ are recent examples, who both were at the head of the Treaſury, and yet ſcarce died out of debt.

A kingdom muſt not expect any relief from their burthens whenever they ſee thoſe who are to give it heaping all the riches together which defrauding the Public can enable them to do. The more money comes into their hands, the more they will be able to put in their private purſes; and the ſingle care of advancing their own intereſt will make them endeavor the deſtruction of the ſtate. The getting an immenſe eſtate in a little time, without any viſible manner in which it was gained, was one of the articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Clarendon; and if ever convincing evidence is to ſupply the place of law, it muſt be when pains and penalties are to be inflicted on a perſon concerned in the Public Revenues, whoſe great and ſudden wealth is an undoubted and ſufficient proof of his crimes.

No Dependence to be placed in the Profeſſional Principles of Miniſters of State.

TO call that Liberty to day, which we called Liberty ſome time ago; to eſteem that to be perſecution againſt one, which we ſhould eſteem to be perſecution againſt another; to impute the ſame effects to the ſame cauſes; to call the ſame things the ſame things; though this may ſeem but a low and ordinary degree of underſtanding and

‡ How immaculate and diſintereſted are the preſent Miniſters and their coadjutors! ! !

honeſty,

honeſty, is yet that *greatneſs of mind*, that *impartiality of judgment*, which very few people arrive at.

Nothing is more common, than for a party of men, in a ſmall courſe of time, to forget themſelves, and act contrary to thoſe very principles which made them a *party*. *Parties* will generally have ſo much of madneſs, violence, and contradiction in their conduct, as happens to be in the private temper of their leaders, and are ſeldom any longer true to the principles and reaſons of their party, than thoſe at the head of them prove to be moderate, equitable, and undeſigning men.

As *Abſolute Monarchy*, in the hands of a wiſe and virtuous prince, may make a nation for his time more happy than any *Legal Government*, ſo the cauſe of Liberty, when committed to the hands of a Miniſter of *violence*, *avarice*, and *revenge*, may more enſlave a People, and deſtroy a Nation, than the heavieſt ſtrokes of *Monarchical Power*. The *True Briton* is therefore to look to the preſervation of the *principles* of his party, and not to the men who make a bluſter in it; for it will often happen that he muſt loſe his party, if he will follow thoſe whom Fortune has placed at the head of it. An evil Miniſter may have ſo acted that he can be no longer ſafe, than whilſt he is in power: he may have more to fear than an evil Monarch, and to be forced upon more deſperate methods to ſecure himſelf from an abuſed, injured People.

Some years ago, power was for ſome time in bad hands;* Liberty for a while hung down its head; Property grew precarious, and Magna Charta as little valued as the Original Contract; Corruption increaſed; Bribery was eſta-

* The junto of Lord Bute and Charles Jenkinſon (now Lord Hawkeſbury.)

bliſhed;

bliſhed; Religion declined; and the Church was aſhamed to ſee herſelf committed to the care of an illiterate, weak, worldly, proſtitute clergy; which is not in the leaſt mended. Thoſe days brought forth the Occaſional and Schiſm Bills, which are ſuch violent attempts upon the *Liberty of the Subject*, as at once made the kingdom but a den of ſlaves.

To the Citizens of London, at Times of Election.

THE privileges of the city are on this occaſion eſſentially concerned: for, if the three great companies, *Eaſt-India*, *Bank*, and *South-Sea*, ſhall, by threats and promiſes, uſe their utmoſt efforts to chuſe ſuch perſons as they approve of, to be magiſtrates of the city of London, the great power which the extent of their trade, and the number of perſons concerned under them, muſt give them, may enable them to be as abſolute maſters of the liberties of London, as they are of their own affairs; and muſt impower them to trample effectually on the freedom of elections.

If every perſon whoſe ſubſtance depends on the favour of thoſe companies, muſt be drove to the cruel neceſſity of ſtarving themſelves and families, or voting againſt their conſciences and inclinations; this muſt be eſteemed an open violation of the rights of the livery-men; and, conſequently, dangerous and deſtructive to the public welfare; and thoſe perſons who ſhall with courage oppoſe ſuch violence and corruption, ought to be eſteemed friends to the people, and defenders of their undoubted privileges.

THE

THE VOLUNTEER.

WHEN five pence a ſolid meal cannot ſupply
To a jolly young man five feet ten inches high;
Who has jogg'd with his knapſack twelve leagues through the rain,
While his wench and three brats had each ancle to ſtrain;
The poor volunteer to the halberts is tied,
For ſtealing two chick-eggs and getting them fried:
What carters and jockies ſhould ſuffer he feels,
And the blood guſhes down from his nape to his heels.
The commander in chief, who is almoſt fifteen,
And a taylor's apprentice by right ſhould have been;
Now ſtruts round the circle, then turns on his heel,
To belabour the drummers *who don't make him feel*—
Swears England could ne'er have produc'd ſuch a rogue,
And diſcerns in his howling the true Iriſh brogue.
The ſurgeon, whoſe ſympathy ſwells in each vein,
When a ſwoon interrupts the convulſions of pain,
Makes them flog till he ſtart to his ſenſes again.
Nay, doctor and drum for attendance are *paid*,
And his pockets are fleec'd while his ſhoulders are flay'd.
He's pack'd in a tranſport on every ſtate quarrel,
More tightly than biſcuit and beef in a barrel;
In torrents each ſummer ſhower ſtreams through his tent,
In barracks more diſmal, December is ſpent;
In damp rotten bedding, the moment he's laid,
To the rage of whole armies his rear is betray'd;
In health he infallibly more than half ſtarves,
In a tertian, he's us'd as a raſcal deſerves.
His Chloe, by hunger, compell'd to ſad pranks,
Is chas'd as a ſwindler in form through the ranks;

His

His children, when ſome baggage cart is o'erthrown
In a ditch, like blind puppies, are ſuffer'd to drown.
And when for his king thirty years he has toil'd,
In Canada froſt-bit, in Africa broil'd;
Has been thrice a week handcuff'd for drinking his pay,
Got nine thouſand laſhes for running away;
Has oft like a hero been wounded *before*,
And clear'd with a cudgel each concubine's ſcore;
At laſt, with the dons, point to point he engages,
For more than one fourth of a ſcavenger's wages;
Some merciful volley then ſhatters a leg,
And his crutches obtain him permiſſion to beg.

MR. EDITOR,

You may probably recollect that about a year and a half ſince a certain Ariſtocratic Aſſociation, meeting at the Crown and Anchor, were very buſily employed in rendering themſelves ridiculous by the publication of ſome curious "Tracts," againſt thoſe whom they were pleaſed to ſtile "Republicans and Levellers." At that time it was thought that the Aſſociation might attempt to give theſe pieces which they brought into the world, ſomething more than an ephemeral exiſtence, by re-publiſhing them in a volume, and accordingly the following Dedication was prepared for it. But being diſappointed of the advantage of appearing in its proper place, you may perhaps find one for it, (if it ſhould be deemed a proper ingredient) in ſome political olio, there to rejoice in its eſcape from oblivion.

Your's, &c.

ACER.

DEDICATION

FOR

"A Collection of Tracts, &c."

SATAN! to thee, our deareſt friend,
This precious volume we commend;

To

To thee with gratitude inſcribe,
The labors of our motley tribe;
For none like thee can know their worth;
And there was none in all the earth
To whom we could inſcribe the work
But thy vicegerent E——d B——ke;
Who on thy buſineſs ſo intent is,
That ſome think he's *non compos mentis.*
And therefore it might hurt our fame
To deck the volume with his name.
Beſides, it might appear that we
Were practiſing *Equality;*
And, while we curs'd the hateful word,
Preferr'd the ſervant to his lord.
Far be it from us, mighty prince,
We've ſworn allegiance long time ſince,
And to ſupport Hell's conſtitution
Is our determin'd reſolution.
Then condeſcend, great king, to look
With royal favor on our book;
Which to thy cauſe we have devoted,
By which thy power ſhall be promoted.
'Tis fill'd with every fit ingredient
To make mankind to thee obedient;
It teaches all the vulgar throng
That kings alone know right from wrong;
And that to exerciſe their reaſon
'Gainſt regal will is downright treaſon:
And ſoon we hope to ſee mankind
To common ſenſe completely blind;
Slavery triumphant through the world,
And Truth into oblivion hurl'd.

Read,

Read, and with pleaſure you'll deſcry
In ev'ry page ſome flagrant lie;
So neatly told, that none can tell
If made on earth or ſent from hell.
Of leſſer falſehoods there's ſuch ſtore,
The book could ſcarcely hold one more.
Then we have made ſuch lib'ral uſe
Of that bright jewel rank abuſe;
And with ſuch folly fill'd each chapter,
That Edmund reads it o'er with rapture.
Deign then, O moſt illuſtrious king!
T' accept the offering which we bring;
Commiſſion thy infernal ſpirits
To ſpread through all the world its merits;
To ſhew mankind its wond'rous worth,
And propagate it thro' the earth;
So will we all thy power ſupport,
Until we come to grace thy court:
E'en Ariſtocracy to thee
With gratitude ſhall bend the knee,
And monarchy with pleaſure own
It owes its pow'r to thee alone.

N. B. The Devil, tho' a wicked ſpirit,
Always reſpects infernal merit;
He read this work profound,
Then cried—"Yes! I'll my friends reward,
"Let there be inſtantly prepar'd
"The warmeſt birth that can be found."

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1794.

THE EAST INDIA CHARTER considered.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

POSSIBLY I may entertain erroneous ideas on this ſubject, owing to unfortunately having never met with any document, ancient, or modern, that proves the neceſſity of his majeſty's taking the perſons and property of millions in diſtant regions under his protection, or the benefits they have derived from it: though my information has been derived from Europeans, and not immediately from the natives themſelves. Even in the reports of the committee of the Houſe of Commons, I find painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the iniquity of every meaſure reſpecting our pretended government of India. 'The great ar-'rangements of lord Clive, the great founder of our terri-'torial power,' I find deſcribed in theſe reports, as being

of

of the blackeſt dye. I find charges of rapacity, treachery, and cruelty. Such was the origin of our power in Bengal. In another report, conducted under the auſpices of Mr. Dundas, the origin of our quarrel with Hyder Ally, which has now terminated in ſtripping his ſon of a great part of his dominions, is very clearly traced ; our conduct is pourtrayed as wicked in the extreme, and that of Hyder's as magnanimous, juſt, wiſe, and prudent ; nor does the unfortunate termination of the war derogate at all from the qualities of his ſucceſſor. Let Europe, (I mean the continent) if it can, produce an equal to either of them. The happineſs of his dominions, nay even of the Canare, a conquered country, is as ſtrongly contraſted with the miſery and deſolation of the Engliſh domination, as the love and attachment which the inhabitants, even of the countries he had conquered, bore to Hyder and his ſucceſſor, are contraſted with the horror and deteſtation with which the Engliſh are viewed in Aſia. This deteſtation, which every fact, and every teſtimony, proves, is tranſmuted by Mr. Dundas into the reverence the natives have for the Europeans, and which, he ſays, extends to their very dogs. This reverence he cautions us carefully to preſerve, and there ſeems to be little danger of our diſregarding his admonition.

Forcibly to take three millions per annum from any people, and carry it to a diſtant country, will certainly ſecure this kind of reverence from any nation on earth, becauſe it will inſure their miſery. Whether the perſons ſent from England to conduct this buſineſs, which we chooſe to call government, are ſent by the king, or the company, by Mr. Dundas, or by Jack Ketch, by a board of control, or by parliamentry commiſſioners, is perfectly indifferent to the people of Aſia ; nor, indeed, are the various

rious ſhades of cruelty which may be diſcriminated in conducting the proceſs of extracting the property of Aſia for the emolument of England, a matter of any more importance, than whether an Engliſh corſair ſhall murder nine or ten in the hundred of his cargo; whether the ſurvivors ſhall be burned with an iron or a ſilver brand; or be ſtarved, on an allowance of nine or twelve pints of horſe beans per week. The mere drawing three millions per annum from her, muſt inſure miſery to Aſia, for clearly as Mr. Dundas has deſcribed the inſatiable gulphs into which the riches of Aſia is to be poured, he has as carefully avoided any inquiry into the amplitude of the ſource.

Inſtead of amuſing us with ideas of the immenſe annual income to be drawn from Aſia, and inſtead of idle diſcuſſions as to remote arrangements of its diſpoſition in England, there was a line of argument he might have taken, in which he might have proceeded on ſure ground. Had he made an enquiry into the circulating or hoarded treaſures of thoſe countries of which he had the poſſeſſion; that treaſure he might certainly reckon on as our own, and we might take ſuch meaſures as to our wiſdom might ſeem expedient, for tranſporting it to this country; but there our depredations muſt neceſſarily terminate, for, as the circulating medium is withdrawn from the country, the real riches, the induſtry of the inhabitants, and the riches of its ſoil, become inutile. The people muſt abandon it, or fall a ſacrifice to peſtilence and famine. The land we may then abandon to tygers and ſerpents, and as our revenue muſt then ceaſe, we ſhall have no other reſource, than to ſeek out freſh ſources of plunder in new conqueſts.

That a large permanent revenue can ever be drawn from India is impoſſible, even admitting every precaution be adopted; let us ſuppoſe that the ancient taxes of Bengal had been

been adhered to, inſtead of being quadrupled; admitting no monoplies had been formed; that property had been ſecured; that the perſons whom we ſent to India had clear heads and clean hands; in ſhort, let us ſuppoſe our conduct reſpecting India to be exactly the reverſe to what it has been, and that we merely confine ourſelves to remitting to Europe, that ancient, moderate, revenue, which had ever been levied by the native princes. It might then be ſaid, has not the country ever flouriſhed under theſe taxes, theſe laws, and theſe regulations? True—and ſtill would it have flouriſhed, becauſe the aſſeſſments levied by the ſovereigns again returned among the people, and conſtituted the circulating medium of the country; but you have withdrawn it never to return. No analogy can be drawn between the effects of levies returned into the circulation of a country, and when withdrawn from it. For inſtance, let us ſuppoſe the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould take a fancy to eradicate French principles from this iſland, and ſhould take poſſeſſion of it for that purpoſe, and ſome Ruſſian Mr. Dundas ſhould open a Britiſh Budget at St. Peterſburgh: but ſtay, I will not ſuppoſe him a Mr. Dundas; becauſe I will not ſuppoſe, what I cannot believe, that her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias will treat us, or any other people, as we treat thoſe over whom we exerciſe dominion, or as we have treated our ſiſter kingdom. I will not ſuppoſe that ſhe will grant a charter to authorize ſome, and prohibit all the reſt of her ſubjects from trading to the richeſt and moſt conſiderable nations of the earth;—that when theſe wretches, under her authority, ſhall have been treated kindly, and enjoyed great advantages and privileges, from the mildneſs and beneficence of the ſovereigns, they ſhould fortify their factories, and garriſon them with troops from Ruſſia;—that, when theſe fortifica-

fortifications, and their hoſtile aſpect, ſhould at length give umbrage to the ſovereigns of the country, and they ſhould forbid them to increaſe their fortifications, or military enterpriſes, then thoſe very meaſures and precautions, which the ſovereigns of the countries owed their ſubjects, ſhould be deemed a ſufficient plea for attempting to uſurp their dominions; that deſtitute of force to effect this purpoſe, they ſhould reſort to the moſt villainous artifices, intriguing with the ſervants to betray the ſovereign, and weakening the government by repeated ſcenes of revolt, ſhould at length uſurp it to themſelves, diſſolving not merely all the bonds of government, but all the property in the land, and range the country till it was one ſcene of deſolation, covered with the dead bodies of the inhabitants; that ſhe ſhould ſuffer this ſeries of outrage, yet make ſuch a deſpicable mockery of juſtice, as to wrangle for a diviſion of the ſpoil, while ſhe pretended to cenſure a few particular facts, in this aſſemblage of crimes, whence was derived all the plunder at which ſhe was graſping. That ſhe ſhould dreſs out a court of juſtice, with all the frippery of a theatre, to ſqueeze returning Pachas, and diſpenſe an heterogeneous mixture of cenſure and honour for the ſame ſpecies of crimes; and then, to conclude the ſcene, that it ſhould be conſidered amongſt her miniſters as a very good joke, that no two perſons could agree in the means of reſtoring ſome ſpecies of order and government into the chaotic deſolation they had occaſioned, and that this ſhould be alledged as a reaſon for ſelling them to Jews and jobbers for 500,000*l* per annum. I ſay, I will not ſuppoſe ſhe will ever be thus guilty, becauſe I believe ſome ſenſe of honour, ſome dignified pride, generally accompanies the poſſeſſion of ſupreme unlimited authority, and that the loweſt degradation of the human character will ever be found,

where

where power is divided and conteſted, like the Grand Seignor overawed by his Janiſſaries, or a monarch controlled by popular aſſemblies, or other kinds of mixed or confuſed governments. I will then ſuppoſe that ſhe treats us with that ſpecies of dignified oppreſſion which becomes a great ſovereign; that ſhe ſuffers us to retain our laws and our cuſtoms; preſerves all the foundations of property; nay, remits us half our cuſtomary taxes, either to pay the nation's creditors, or to be diſpoſed of by Mr. Paine in national bounties, and requires only half our uſual taxes to be remitted to Ruſſia. Here is a plan, mild and beneficent, when compared to Mr. Dundas's; now will Mr. Jenkinſon, before he begins his operations upon India, aſk his father, how many years, he apprehends, the great, the rich, the inexhauſtible England could bear this draining?

When Mr. Dundas contends that a plan is warranted by experience, againſt which the experience of every age and nation militates, he pours ſovereign contempt on his audience. He preſumes they are ignorant of the hiſtory of this, and of every other country; or he would not have dared to aſſert that a diſtant dependant dominion is permanent or valuable. The Portugueſe have preceded us in our enterprize; can ſhe bear witneſs—will Spain bear teſtimony to the value of a colony, which though yielding an inexhauſtible revenue, yet is it a ſource of miſery and weakneſs to the parent ſtate? Mr. Dundas well knows that experience will warrant no intercourſe between nations, but the intercourſe of fair and legitimate commerce; experience teſtifies that all other is ruinous as it is wicked; yet he ſeems to treat with contempt the idea of increaſing our exports to India, and boldly tells us, not to riſk the ſolid advantages we poſſeſs, in purſuit of commercial ſpeculations; ridicules the idea of finding cuſtomers for our

principal

principal manufactures in that half of the world between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, through the records of parliament prove the eagerneſs with which the trade was purſued, even in times far leſs qualified for ſuch enterprizes than the preſent. He knows that private adventurers offered to treble the exports of the company, and to ſupply government with ſaltpetre much under the company's price. He knows that India preſents ſuch a ſource of commercial enterprize, that all our ſevere laws cannot prevent Engliſh capitals being employed, in foreign bottoms, to a much greater extent than the whole commerce of the company; yet he has the boldneſs to ſay that the hopes, formed of the limited experiment he has introduced into his plan, will fail; though indeed it may probably be the caſe, as himſelf and the company have, certainly, ſufficient power in India to ſecure a miſcarriage. Thus contrary to all experience is this plan formed, though on the very ground of experience he pretends to recommend it.

Contemptuous as Mr. Dundas may treat our India commerce, and all attempts at increaſing it, when compared with the ſolid and important advantages we now derive from India; he yet thinks it worth while to dreſs it out with ſome pomp, and, ſtrange to tell, he even boaſts of the company employing 81,000 tons of ſhipping. Surely it was unneceſſary to remind us of the company hiring twice the quantity of ſhipping that was neceſſary, paying twice the value, and breaking up the ſhips without wearing them out, that new ones may be built; but why did he not inform the Houſe, that, 'theſe 81,000 tons of 'ſhipping had been employed in defiance of an act of the 'legiſlature, paſſed at the very time when Mr. Dundas 'himſelf held an high office in the navy department?' that the act ſtates this very fact which Mr. Dundas brings forward

forward with applauſe to his ignorant auditors, to be 'an 'unneceſſary conſumption of oak timber fit for the royal 'navy.' Mr. Dundas then tells us of the immenſe imports of the company, and trembles leſt a concern of ſuch magnitude ſhould be deranged by innovation. I ſuppoſe he muſt mean, that is, if he has any meaning, that we ſhould leave off drinking tea, or at leaſt that we ſhould have no tea to drink, if it were not for an Honourable Eaſt India Company; but really if this evil were certain, I cannot ſee it to be ſo very terrific: nay, ſhould the ladies throw away their ſhawls and the gentlemen their wangees, I do not think it would quite ruin poor Old England, even though the duties on them amount to a million per annum. At length he comes a little more to the point, and tells us, this commerce is a vent for Engliſh manufactures to the value of a million per annum. That thoſe who are juſt come from counting the rouleaus at a gaming table, or caſting up their private accounts, and have no ideas beyond them, ſhould ſtare at being told of a whole million of money is probable, but they ought to have been told, that, 'the excluſive trade of the company compriſes that of al-'moſt half the globe, including the richeſt and moſt popu-'lous countries; that yet this million is not near a tythe of 'our exports, that it does not equal even that to Holland 'or Germany: and they ought to have recollected the 'contempt with which the ſale of our manufactures to 'France, to the amount of a million, was lately treated, 'when it was brought in competition with the inexpreſſible 'pleaſure of cutting the throats of its inhabitants.'

Admitting that we ſubdue all the native princes of India, admitting that lord Macartney may enable us to uſurp the dominion of China, that the empreſs of Ruſſia guarantees and that all the powers in Europe and America

rica ſuffer their commerce to be at the mercy of our India Company, yet ſtill will the ſecurity of our India poſſeſſions inſure the loſs of them to this country. The Engliſh in India will then no longer remit three millions per annum. No acknowledgement can be then expected from them beyond a buſſe, or a ſtate-bed, or a preſent to the India miniſter.

A Caveat againſt the adoption of any meaſure in political adminiſtration, without firſt conſidering the appendant conſequences.

IT is the duty of a King, who himſelf cannot be ſuppoſed to enter into the minute parts of Government, to veſt the execution of power in the hands of honeſt and diſcreet men. Theſe miniſters are to be accountable to him for all their actions; and he is to review them with an impartial eye, in order to ſecure his ſubjects from violence and oppreſſion.

The great maxim in politics which governors ſhould purſue, is, "Never to enter into any meaſure to anſwer "particular occaſions, without conſidering, with the ut- "moſt caution, how far that ſtep which their neceſſities "may, at one juncture, flatter them into, can prove fatal "and dangerous in its conſequence."

Were this maxim followed as it ought, we ſhould ſcarce find any precedents eſtabliſhed, which one time or other may be brought to juſtify the vileſt actions, and to deſtroy the liberties of theſe kingdoms.

When there is an emergency that ſeems to require extraordinary remedies, the buſineſs of our governors is

to

to conſider, whether the ſituation of affairs is ſuch as can warrant the applying of ſuch violent phyſic as muſt be a ſhock to the conſtitution in general.

To JAMES and PAUL;

OR, THE

LORD MAYORS.

May it pleaſe your Honours,

AS you are men of great power, I ſhall think it an honour to be numbered hereafter among your correſpondents.

You ſet out at ſuch a juncture, and in ſuch a manner, and then ſuch is your rank and character, that no-body will ſo much as pretend you act either to enjoy place, hire or penſion. This gives you an advantage far above the meaner tribe of mercenary creatures; and muſt certainly gain you the devotion and credulity of both H—— of P———, and the ſmiles of Billy Spindle, the apoſtate.

I ſhall not fear, be the times what they may, to compliment you on the wiſe choice of a party fit for your purpoſe, and your courageous defence of a bad cauſe.

To overturn a government ſo firmly eſtabliſhed; to act for a party and a cauſe which ſeems to be abandoned both by God and man; to declaim againſt the beſt of men, and cry up the worſt; to endeavour to convince us by arguments perfectly weighty, that we labour under a *Deceptio Viſus*, in expoſing the corruptions of Government, having loſt the ſenſe of feeling; and that we neither ſee nor feel oppreſſion or impoſture,—are ſuch glaring proofs of your wit,

wit, your judgment, your courage, your diſintereſtedneſs, and your zeal for your country, as are hardly to be matched by any other magiſtrate in his Majeſty's dominions.

I hope the noble puſh you lately made at the rights and privileges of the citizens, when you abandoned the qualities appendant to your authority, and conſented to uſe your utmoſt efforts for altering the city militia, and making it the tool of power, inſtead of aſſiſting the cauſe of liberty: and then we muſt not forget one of you condeſcended to become an informer, and the other a ſhop-lifter, in the caſe of EATON, the Bookſeller; the firſt for the Rights of Man and Letter to the Addreſſers, the other for the Age of Reaſon; which will never be forgotten ſo long as Gog and Magog ſtand in the hall. And pray give me leave to congratulate your honours upon the ſucceſs of ſuch your righteous endeavours.

I am,

With admiration and aſtoniſhment,

OBSERVATOR.

MR. EDITOR,

Thoſe ſuggeſtions of things, ſo long ago as 1700, are now come to paſs. See the Whigs and Tories are now united, for the ſole purpoſe of obtaining places and penſions, which we call the loaves and fiſhes; but, in reality, to rob the poor, and continue this murderous war, for the purpoſe of maintaining themſelves in their unjuſt privileges.

The Whigs and Tories contraſted and compared.

(From Davenant's Eſſay upon Trade.)

IT is hoped theſe names of diſtinction are now quite aboliſhed and forgotten; but the faction of Guelfs and Ghibelins, after having ſlept for ſome time, revived again, and

and continued upwards of two hundred years, even when the derivation of the words were no more remembered. And the parties laſted ſo long, becauſe the ſame principles upon which they had firſt differed, remained ſtill deeply imprinted in their minds, and afforded continual matter for new diſſention.

In the ſame manner, perhaps, ſome time hence, the names of Whig and Tory may be again renewed here, to diſturb the nation's peace; and if this ſhould happen we muſt implore the Whigs not to forget their old principles and antient maxims.

The Tories, by taking arms to defend their civil rights, and by joining to depoſe that prince by whom thoſe rights were violated, have, in the moſt public manner in the world, renounced their doctrine of *Jus Divinum*, paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance.

But if the Whigs ſhould hereafter take *their* ſtations; if they ſhould go upon that ground which the Tories have quitted; if they ſhould enter upon juſt ſuch meaſures; if they ſhould purſue the ſame councils; if they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be imbibed with Tory notions, our conſtitution muſt be intirely loſt.

For *they* may undermine it without ſuſpicion; who will be jealous of thoſe who have been preaching up Liberty, and accuſing arbitrary miniſters for thirty years? Who will ſuſpect ſuch profeſſed patriots? They may change the form of our government, and have the people of their ſide, who can have no jealouſy of them; for the Whigs are the favourites of the people, as having ſo often preſerved England. No perſon could be popular enough in Rome to think of ſubverting its conſtitution in the purity of the Commonwealth, but Manlius who had ſaved the capitol.

It will hardly be ſurmiſed, that *they* can mean to inſlave us, who (by their ſpeeches, actions, and writings) for many years, ſeemed rather inclined to a republic, than to deſpotic government. But if they ſhould come to change their minds; if they ſhould throw off their former principles, we ſhall be undone by the very men whom we thought our ſureſt friends.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think proper to admit the following thoughts into your valuable repoſitory, they are at your ſervice.

LIBERTAS.

On Liberty and Property.

THE two great eſſentials requiſite for the well ordering of ſociety, are, to be allowed the full extent of our liberties, and, to be protected in our reſpective properties.

As for liberty, it cannot be bought at too great a rate; life itſelf is well employed, when it is hazarded for liberty; nor can any thing be too dear when freedom is the purchaſe. Theſe were evidently the ſentiments of the admired Romans; and that nothing was more valued than freedom by this great people, is manifeſt from this; that though their laws permitted parents to take away their children's lives, yet would they not ſuffer them to do any act whereby thoſe children might be deprived of their liberty.

As for property, it is ſo interwoven with liberty, that whenever we perceive the latter weakened, the former cannot fail of being impaired.

Thoſe nations who formerly either laviſhed away their liberties

liberties through their own folly, or that loſt them through the treachery of others, ſoon found their properties as precarious in the hands of ſycophants, as their liberties were deſperate in the hands of tyrants.

It is no eaſy matter to perſuade the multitude their liberties are in danger, when their properties are ſecured; but whenever they have been ſhewn, that their properties have been not only rendered precarious, but even ſubject to the caprice or freak of every narrow-ſoul dependant, which is evidently the caſe at preſent, it is impoſſible but uneaſineſs and heart-burnings ſhould then enſue.

It is owing to the ſingular mercy of Almighty God, that amidſt the rage of parties, and the various revolutions in the miniſtries of our late princes, when each party, as they have gained the aſcendant, have oppreſſed the other; that, I ſay, in all thoſe ſhocks, our conſtitution and liberties have been hitherto ſo well preſerved; and happy, indeed, would it be for this country, if the preſent aſpect of things afforded us the ſame favourable proſpect of their continuance.—But how much to be lamented is the ſad reverſe! All our boaſted liberties are now, like Shakſpear's viſionary fabrick, haſtily vaniſhing away, and, it is too much to be feared, will ſoon leave "not a wreck behind." Nor can this much be doubted, while we are already ſuffering the infringement of every privilege, and compelled to endure the inſolent and arbitrary bondage of miniſterial tyranny.

On the Loſs of ROMAN LIBERTY.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the ſubſequent extract on the Loſs of Roman Liberty, after the battle of Pharſalia, from Lucan, is worthy a place in your political cabinet, it is at your ſervice.

A Friend to Freedom.

IMMORTAL gods! with what reſiſtleſs force
Our growing empire ran its rapid courſe?
But now, behold, how fortune tears away
The gift of ages in one fatal day!
Our fathers fertile fields by ſlaves are till'd,
And Rome with dregs of foreign lands is fill'd.
Dear Liberty! long weary'd by our crimes,
Forſakes us for ſome *better, barbarous* climes;
While Rome, who long purſu'd that chiefeſt good,
O'er fields of ſlaughter, and through ſeas of blood,
In *ſlavery* her abject ſtate muſt mourn,
And ſcarce dare hope the goddeſs will return.
Why were we ever free? Oh! why has Heav'n
A ſhort-liv'd tranſitory bleſſing giv'n?
Medes and Arabians of the ſlaviſh Eaſt,
Beneath eternal bondage, may be bleſt:
While of a diff'ring mould and nature, we,
From ſire to ſon, accuſtom'd to be free,
Feel indignation riſing in our blood,
And *bluſh* to wear the chains that make them *proud*.

THE HAPPINESS OF AMERICA.

(From the New York Journal.)

IN other lands, whilſt mad ambition arms
Man againſt man, and ſounds the dire alarms
Of war and death, how bleſt our happier lot!
Tyrannic rage, domeſtic ſtrife forgot.
No foreign deſpot bids our cannon roar;
Internal diſcord's voice is heard no more;
Since heaven-born Freedom has commenc'd *her* reign,
With all the peaceful virtues in her train.

Here equal laws, reaſon and truth prevail,
Juſtice preſides, and holds her balanc'd ſcale,
Wiſdom is honour'd—Science lends her aid
To every honeſt art, or uſeful trade;
Here keen Invention too exerts her powers,
And proves the boaſt of genius to be ours.

The active ſwain, who turns the fertile ſoil,
Whilſt health and manly vigour crown his toil,
Enjoys what thrones of monarchs can't impart,
Peace, independence, and a joyous heart.
Unſhackl'd commerce (ſource of wealth and eaſe)
Unfurls her canvas to the fav'ring breeze;
Our produce wafts with ſpeed to diſtant ſhores,
Regions remote, and ſeas unknown, explores.

O ye oppreſs'd, who groan in foreign lands,
No more ſubmit to tyrants vile commands,
While here a calm retreat from all your woes
Invites to freedom, joy, and bleſt repoſe.

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WAR.

"Bella Horrida Bella!"

IN the laſt German war, which began in 1756 and ended in 1762, two hundred thouſand men were ſlain; and after all this barbarous havock—after this deluge of blood—it was coolly determined, that things ſhould remain preciſely as they were at the commencement of hoſtilities.

In the ten year American war, after a profligate waſte of blood and money; after the ſacrifice of one hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers; after this country had diſgraced her national character, and added one hundred millions to her debt: our wretched miniſtry found they could not effectuate their vile object, the cry, the threats of the people alone, forced them to relinquiſh what prudence ſhould have ſuggeſted them never to have attempted, and what the loſs of their heads would be but a poor puniſhment for their having commenced.

On

On a candid examination into the different wars, in ancient or modern hiſtory, it is eaſy to diſcover, that the countries engaged, have been reduced to wretchedneſs, and that not even the conquering one can boaſt of advantage, when it reflects on the loſs of its inhabitants, and the expenditure of its wealth. Clear as the point, and evident as the truth, we reflect not a moment on what others have ſuffered, or are likely ourſelves to ſuffer. Nations ſtill march to the butchery, to fight the battles of courts, with as much ardour as if they were really braving death for the preſervation of their own liberties; or for relief from thoſe intolerable burthens by which they are oppreſſed; and never conſider, that in the proſecution of their zeal, they are ſtrengthening the chains which retain them in vaſſalage and ſlavery.

It is impoſſible to produce one war in the hiſtory of mankind, that did not in ſome way originate in one of theſe three great monopolies, prieſthood, monarchy, and ariſtocracy: and it is equally impoſſible, in the whole catalogue, to produce a ſingle example where the people have not been the eventual ſufferers.

War, amongſt a certain deſcription of men, will ever be popular; unfortunately the ears of princes are ſhut to any, but thoſe vile corrupted ſycophants, who, intereſted in its continuance, leave no art untryed to widen the breach, and prevent reconciliation. The voice of theſe political jobbers is the voice of the nation. The fountain of juſtice is polluted by their repreſentations, and the ſafety of the prince is too often endangered by too implicit confidence in their ſincerity.

War ſometimes originates in the rapacious ambition of princes, who, not imagining they have a ſufficiency of territory, pour forth their myriads to extend dominion; miniſterial

niſterial profligacy often diſcovers war, as the beſt means human policy can deviſe, to prevent the inſulted people which they govern from examining their errors, and puniſhing their temerity. Millions are often ſacrificed to difference in opinions, and the balance of power is the modern bugbear, which juſtifies this barbarous infatuation.

Oh blind to think that cruel war
Can pleaſe the Prince of peace;
He who erects his altar in the heart
Abhors the ſacrifice of human blood,
And all the mad ambition of that zeal
Which deſolates the world he died to ſave.

MR. EDITOR,

By inſerting the following amongſt your valuable leſſons for the Swiniſh Multitude, you will oblige

A LOVER OF LIBERTY.

THE following is copied from an American newſpaper, and as every thing that regards our countryman muſt be intereſting to the philoſopher, we are happy to find that the truth of the well known diſtich, is verified in the doctor,

And thoſe that go beyond the ſea ſhall find,
They change their dwelling, but can't change their mind;

and that the welfare of his native country is ſtill uppermoſt in his thoughts.

Addreſs to Joſeph Prieſtley, L.L.D. F.R.S.

SIR,

WE are appointed by the Democratic Society, of the city of New York, a committee to congratulate you on

on your arrival in this country, and we feel the lively pleaſure in bidding you a hearty welcome to theſe ſhores of liberty and equality.

While the arm of tyranny is extended in moſt of the nations of the world, to cruſh the ſpirit of liberty, and bind in chains the bodies and minds of men, we acknowledge, with ardent gratitude, to the Parent of the univerſe, our ſingular felicity in living in a land where reaſon has ſucceſsfully triumphed over the artificial diſtinctions of European policy and bigotry, and where the law equally protects the virtuous citizen of every deſcription and perſuaſion.

On this occaſion we cannot but obſerve, that we once eſteemed ourſelves happy in the government of Great Britain,—but the multiplied oppreſſions which characterize that government, excite in us the moſt painful ſenſations, and exhibit a ſpectacle as diſguſting in itſelf, as diſhonourable to the Britiſh name.

The governments of the old world preſent to us one huge maſs of intrigue, corruption, and deſpotiſm—moſt of them are now baſely combined, to prevent the eſtabliſhment of liberty in France, and to effect the total deſtruction of the *Rights of Man*. Under theſe afflicting circumſtances, we rejoice that America opens her arms to receive, with fraternal affection, the friend of liberty and human happineſs, and that here he may enjoy the bleſſings of civilized ſociety. We ſincerely ſympathize with you in all that you have ſuffered, and we conſider the perſecution with which you have been purſued by a venal court, and an imperious, uncharitable prieſthood, as an illuſtrious proof of your perſonal merit, and a laſting reproach to that government, from the graſp of whoſe tyranny you are ſo happily removed.

Accept, Sir, of the ſincere and beſt wiſhes of the ſociety whom we repreſent, for the continuance of your health, and the increaſe of your individual and domeſtic happineſs.

JAMES NICHOLSON, PRESIDENT.

To the Members of the Democratic Society in New York.

GENTLEMEN,

VIEWING with the deepeſt concern, as you do, the proſpect that is now exhibited to Europe, thoſe troubles which are the natural offſpring of their forms of government, originating, indeed, in the ſpirit of liberty, but gradually degenerating into tyrannies, equally degrading to the rulers and the ruled, I rejoice in finding an aſylum from perſecution, in a country in which theſe abuſes have come to a natural termination, and produced another ſyſtem of liberty, founded on ſuch wiſe principles, as I truſt, will guard againſt all future abuſes, thoſe artificial diſtinctions in ſocieties from which they ſprung being completely eradicated. That protection from violence, which laws and government promiſed in all countries, but which I have not found in my own, I doubt not I ſhall find with you, though I cannot promiſe to be a better ſubject of this government than my whole conduct will evince that I have been to that of Great Britain.

Juſtly, however, as I think I may complain of the treatment I have met with in England, I ſincerely wiſh her proſperity, and from the good will I bear both to that country and this, I ardently wiſh that all former animoſities may be forgotten, and that a perpetual friendſhip may ſubſiſt between them.

New York, J. PRIESTLEY.
June 6, 1794.

The

The BIRDS and the HEMP FIELD.

A FABLE.

A CERTAIN wary old bird, whoſe newly-fledged brood was juſt able to flutter their little wings, determined on a fine ſpring morning to ſhew them ſomething of the world. The party wandered for a time over vales and mountains, the mother ever teaching them leſſons of caution and prudence for their future conduct, whilſt the young ones, heedleſs of her ſage advice, permitted their hearts to expand with unreſtrained rapture at every new object which preſented itſelf.

At length, on approaching a field where a countryman was buſied in ſcattering about a ſmall ſeed, the provident mother called her little ones about her, on the bough of an aged oak, and thus addreſſed them; "You ſee, my babes, that man ſo buſily employed in the field before us: he is engaged for your deſtruction. His ſchemes are of diſtant, but, unleſs you counteract them, certain ſucceſs. Come with me hither to-morrow morning. We muſt carefully pick up each particle of ſeed; otherwiſe our loſs and utter miſery is ſure."

The next day by ſun-riſe the party was again in the field. The mother carefully picked up each ſeed ſhe could find, and continually exhorted her offſpring to follow her example. The little ones invariably cried out, "Yes, mother;" but, internally ſcoffing her ſage advice, each amuſed itſelf in hopping from ſpray to ſpray, chirping its little ſong in careleſs eaſe; another flew from field to field, delighting itſelf with a ſucceſſion of novelties: all cried, what is this ſeed to us? Are we in danger becauſe

cauſe certain brown atoms are ſcattered about a ploughed field?

Days and weeks paſſed along; and at length the anxious mother ſaw the ſeed ſhe had thought carefully picked up expanded into thriving plants. Again ſhe called her little ones, and again exhorted them to the taſk, now rendered more difficult, as the ſeed, branching off into fibres on every part, had become fixed in the earth. The leſſon of prudence was again neglected; and the unhappy bird ſaw with horror the fatal plant advanced to maturity. The time of reaping came; and after certain proceſſes the hemp is converted into nets.

As the family was one day gambolling along the fields in thoughtleſs ſecurity, the fowlers approach; the fatal cords are thrown, and, as the ſtrings are encloſing them on every ſide, they cry, caſting on their mother a look of melancholy regret—"Alas! that we had picked up the ſeeds!"

Is it neceſſary to give a moral to this fable; or does the reader anticipate an obvious deduction?

We have ſeen for ſome time paſt infractions of our conſtitutional rights, following each other up in quick ſucceſſion. The ſeed is ſown whenever an ambitious miniſter is the idol of an infatuated people: under the foſtering hand of popular deluſion it ſoon takes root. When in the courſe of one ſhort year we ſee an unqualified aſſertion of the right of the executive power to land Foreign Troops in the Britiſh dominions—a practical avowal of the legality of carrying on government by ſupplies unauthorized by the Houſe of Commons; when we ſee barracks univerſally erected, and, to guard againſt the conſequences of theſe meaſures, all political ſocieties prohibited, and the

members of them inſulted and impriſoned; and to crown all, the Habeas Corpus Act, the only barrier againſt miniſterial vengeance, ſuſpended, may we not almoſt ſay, the harveſt approaches? The completion of the net requires the preparatory ſtages of ſewing, reaping, converting the plant into ſtring, and then knotting that ſtring. It is by a ſimilar proceſs only that a free nation can be enſlaved. To come at once with martial law againſt men loving and poſſeſſing a free conſtitution would be madneſs. The yoke would be ſpurned with indignation. But to begin gradually—firſt to declaim againſt popular rights, and the character of popular meetings—then to repreſent the executive power as a ſecure harbour from anarchy and violence—next one by one—and, under plauſible pretexts, and with a ſhew of integrity, to withdraw the barriers of Freedom and of our conſtitution. Theſe are the ſtages of reaping, twiſting, and knotting; and if the deluſion continues, we may ſoon have to cry—"Alas! that we had picked up the ſeeds!"

Social Rights and Liberties defended.

[FROM ABBE RAYNAL.]

ABSURD prejudices have perverted human reaſon, and even ſtifled that inſtinct which teaches animals to reſiſt oppreſſion and tyranny. Multitudes of the human race really believe themſelves to be the property of a ſmall number of men who oppreſs them, Such is the fatal progreſs of that original error, which impoſture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge

ledge revive thoſe rights of reaſonable beings, which to be recovered need only to be felt! Sages of the earth, philoſophers of every nation, it is yours alone to make laws by pointing out theſe rights to your fellow citizens. Take the glorious reſolution to inſtruct your fellow creatures, and be aſſured, that if truth is longer in diffuſing and eſtabliſhing itſelf than error, yet its empire is more ſolid and laſting. Error paſſeth away; but truth remains. Mankind, allured by the expectation of happineſs, the road to which you will ſhew them, will liſten to you with attention. Excite a ſenſe of ſhame in the breaſts of thoſe numerous hireling ſlaves, who are always ready at the command of their maſters to deſtroy their fellow citizens. Rouſe all the powers of human nature to oppoſe this ſubverſion of ſocial laws. Teach mankind, that liberty is the inſtitution of God; authority that of man. Expoſe thoſe myſterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkneſs: let the people be ſenſible how far their credulity has been impoſed upon; let them reaſſume with one accord the uſe of their faculties, and vindicate the honour of the human race.

Of the Iſland of Ceylon.

[BY THE SAME.]

ALL that hiſtory relates worthy of remark is, that the laws were formerly holden in ſuch reſpect there, that the monarch was under the ſame obligation of obſerving them as the meaneſt of his ſubjects; if he violated them he was condemned to death, with this mark of diſtinction, however, that he did not ſuffer in an ignominious manner. He was denied all intercourſe, all the comforts and ſupports

ports of life: and, in this kind of excommunication, miſerably ended his days.

If the people knew their own prerogatives, this cuſtom, anciently obſerved in Ceylon, would ſtill ſubſiſt in all parts of the earth; but while the ſubject only is amenable to the laws, whatever title he may give himſelf, he will be no more than a ſlave. The law is nothing, unleſs it be a ſword, acting indiſcriminately upon the head of every individual, and ſtriking off every thing that riſes above the horizontal direction in which it moves. The law has no authority, unleſs that authority be extended over all without exception; for in the ſight of the law, as in the ſight of God, all men are equal. The puniſhment of an individual avenges only the infraction of the law; the puniſhment of the ſovereign avenges the contempt of it. Who ſhall dare bid defiance to the law, if even the ſovereign cannot do it with impunity? The remembrance of ſo great a leſſon is perpetuated for ages, and excites a more ſalutary dread than the death of a thouſand other criminals.

Of the Iſland of Celebes. A Dutch Settlement.

BY THE SAME.

THE inhabitants of Celebes are rendered active, induſtrious, and robuſt, by a rigid education. Every hour in the day their nurſes rub them with oil, or lukewarm water; theſe repeated unctions encourage nature to unfold her powers with freedom. They are weaned at a year old, an idea prevailing, that if they continued to ſuck any longer, it would hurt their underſtanding. When they are five or ſix years old, the male children of any diſtinction are intruſted to the care of ſome relation or friend, that their courage may not be weakened by the careſſes of their mothers, and

and a habit of reciprocal tenderneſs. They do not return to their families till they have attained the age in which the law permits them to marry.

Here we have, indeed, a ſingular inſtance of civilization among ſlaves, upon the moſt important concern of human life. Which of the moſt poliſhed nations of Europe has carried the care of education ſo far? Which of us has yet thought of ſecuring his poſterity from the effects of parental ſeduction? The precautions taken at Celebes, which would be uſeful in all ranks, would be particularly neceſſary for the children of Monarchs.

Theſe are more expoſed than others to be tainted with that corruption which ſurrounds them on all ſides; and which at once attacks their head and their heart, through the medium of all their ſenſes. How is it poſſible that they ſhould be affected with the ſight of miſery which they are unacquainted with, and never experience? That they ſhould be lovers of truth, when their ears have been only accuſtomed to the accents of flattery! Admirers of virtue, while they are bred in the midſt of unworthy ſlaves, who are all eager to extol their propenſities and their inclinations! Patient in adverſity, which they are not always exempt from! Or how ſhould they be reſolute in dangers to which they are ſometimes expoſed, when they have been enervated by effeminacy, and continually impreſſed with ideas of the importance of their exiſtence? How is it poſſible that they ſhould eſtimate the ſervices they receive, or know the value of the blood ſpilt for the preſervation of their empire, and to enhance the ſplendor of their reign, when they have imbibed the fatal prejudice of every thing being their due, and of its being even too great an honor to die in their cauſe? Strangers to every idea of juſtice, how is it poſſible that they ſhould not become the

ſcourge

ſcourge of that portion of the human race whoſe happineſs is committed to their care?

Of BATAVIA,

A DUTCH SETTLEMENT.

[BY THE SAME.]

THE Council meets but twice a week, unleſs when ſome extraordinary events require a more ſtrict attendance. They appoint to all civil and military employments in India, except thoſe of the writer and ſerjeant, which they thought might be left without inconvenience at the diſpoſal of the governors of the reſpective ſettlements. On his advancement to any poſt, every man is obliged to take an oath, that he has neither promiſed nor given any thing to obtain his employment. This cuſtom, which is very ancient, familiarizes people with falſe oaths, and proves no bar to corruption.

Whoever conſiders the number of abſurd and ridiculous oaths neceſſary to be taken at preſent in moſt countries, on being admitted into any ſociety or profeſſion whatever, will be leſs ſurpriſed to find prevarication ſtill prevailing where perjury has led the way. While good faith reigned upon the earth, a ſimple promiſe was ſufficient to inſure confidence. Oaths owe their origin to perfidy. Man was not required to call upon the God that heard him to be believed. Magiſtrates and ſovereigns, to what do your regulations tend? You either oblige the man of probity to liſt up his hands and call Heaven to witneſs, which with him is a requiſition as injurious as it is uſeleſs; or you compel an oath from the mouth of a reprobate. Of what value can the oath of ſuch a man appear to you?

If

If the oath be contrary to his own ſecurity, it is abſurd. If it be conſonant with his intereſt, it is ſuperfluous. Does it argue a knowledge of the human heart to give the debtor his choice between ruin and a falſehood; or the criminal his option between death and perjury? The man whom motives of revenge, intereſt, or wickedneſs, have determined to give a falſe teſtimony, will he be deterred by the fear of committing one crime more? Is he not appriſed before he is brought up to the tribunal of juſtice that this formality will be required of him; and has he not from the bottom of his heart deſpiſed it before he complied with it? Is it not a ſpecies of impiety to introduce the name of God in our wretched diſputes? Is it not a ſingular mode of making Heaven, as it were, an accomplice in the guilt, to ſuffer that Heaven to be called upon, which has never contradicted, nor will ever contradict, the oath? How intrepid, therefore, muſt not the falſe witneſs become, when he has with impunity called down the divine vengeance upon his head, without the fear of being convicted. Oaths ſeem to be ſo much debaſed and proſtituted by their frequency, that falſe witneſſes are grown as common as robbers.

ADDRESS TO BRITONS.

Extremos pudeat rediiſſe: hoc vincite, Cives,
Et prohibete nefas!——— VIRGIL.

SHALL we, the laſt in Freedom's glorious train,
A ſcornful jeſt to all the world remain?

Has

Has ſmooth Corruption, in his golden ſands,
Our ſouls enchanted, and bewitch'd our bands?
In Courtly Brib'ry are our ſenſes loſt,
Or in wild Diſſipation's vortex toſt?
Arouſe, my Friends, repel the foul diſgrace,
And drive the Monſters, yelling, from your face.
Behold how fierce, gigantic Gallia ſtands,
" Like bold Briareus with his hundred hands;"
While clouds of Northern Locuſts round her pour;
May demons guide them to their evil hour!
Mark how, in Weſtern Skies, the ſun aroſe,
When brave Columbia baffled all her foes!
Mark how Hibernia call'd her ſons to war,
Taught venal ſtateſmen and their hoſts to fear!
Determin'd, firm, like Trojan Mreſtheus be,
Caſt uſeleſs *pilots* headlong in the ſea.
By efforts ſtrong all former ſtains efface;
If not the *firſt*, to gain the *ſecond* place.
Let Slavery, faſt in iron fetters bound,
From mortal view ſink in th' abyſs profound!
In that abode let curs'd Oppreſſion dwell,
That hold of demons, call'd the loweſt Hell,
Till Death, and Hell, and Fiends at once expire,
In fierceſt vengeance of eternal fire.
Let ſacred Truth, and Liberty divine,
Majeſtic Reaſon, bleſt Religion ſhine.
Let theſe on high their radiant wings extend
O'er every nation to earth's utmoſt end;
Pure ſcenes of bliſs unbounded to diſplay,
Till night is loſt in everlaſting day.

What

What d'ye buy? What d'ye buy? What d'ye buy?

OR, THE

GERMAN PORK BUTCHER.

A New SONG.—By W. D. GRANT.

Tune—"*Amo, amas.*"

SO fat! ſo fine! my German *ſhwine*
Are food *vor a Tuke* or *Marquiſh;*
And yet *inteet vor* ſuch a *breet*
I've but—*tirty poundſh* per *carcaſh!*
Gruntum! ſnorum!
In terrorum
Let us keep *de ſhwine* O!
'Twill *ſhave* from chip chop, our thick wig-block,
By *de* Guillotine O!

Come *den*, John Bull, and be mindful
Of—your *loſing* Couſin German;
I *vil* you treat *vid de ver* beſt meat,
If to pay me you determine.
Gruntum! ſnorum!
In terrorum
Let us keep *de ſhwine* O!
'Twill *ſhave* from chip chop our thick wig block,
By *de* Guillotine O!

From my Pig-ſtye, What! What d'ye buy?
Let's CURE *de* hogs of grunting;
Our BACON *ſhave*,—*de ſhwine* enſlave,
And ſtop *der* FREEDOM-HUNTING.

Stars

Stars and Garters,
Kings and Martyrs,
Are on *de* decline O!
And Mitres! Maces! Penſions! Places!
Dread *de* Guillotine O!

ANECDOTE.

THE kingdom of Arragon was originally elective. The people addreſſed the object of their choice with the following words; "We, who are as good as you, make you our king and lord, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; if not, not." This law continued in force till the time of Peter I. ſurnamed *of the Dagger;* who, indignantly ſtabbing his hand, effaced the record with his blood; the only mode, he obſerved, of repealing a law which gave vaſſals the power of electing their ſovereign. The Arragoneſſe, no doubt, were already ſlaves. But men who deſerved to be free would have taught him, that the blood deſtined to extinguiſh the liberties of a nation muſt flow from the *heart*, and not the *hand*, of its tyrant.

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1794.

BARBARITIES OF THE CRIMPS.

JOHN KERR and JOHN RUGGLE were examined on Monday, Auguſt 18th, at Bow ſtreet, on a charge preferred againſt them by Edward Barrett, for having ſtripped and robbed him of all his clothes, a pair of ſilver buckles, a ſilver watch, three India handkerchiefs, and ſeven ſhillings in money.

It appeared, from Barrett's depoſition, that he had been diſcharged from the hoſpital at Deal, in the beginning of laſt month, where he had been a patient, in conſequence of a wound he had received on the memorable action of the firſt of June. About the middle of laſt month, he came to Town, in hopes of becoming a penſioner. Being exceedingly fatigued with the journey, he enquired of a *decent* looking woman, whom he met on London-Bridge, for an honeſt lodging. She conducted him to a houſe where ſhe aſſured him he would meet with ſeafaring men and the beſt

of

of treatment. His bodily ſufferings did not admit of heſitation, he readily accepted the invitation, and the woman conducted him to the houſe, which was near London-Bridge, and introduced him to a company compoſed partly of ſoldiers and partly of ſailors, who addreſſed one another as Captains and Mates, &c. and ſaid they would wiſh him to enter on board a merchantman, bound to Jamaica.

Immediately after he got a glaſs of *wine*, which ſtupified him; and a Captain, as he called himſelf, deſired his Mate to ſhew him into a room; when he was put into a dark apartment, and the door was faſtened on him on the outſide. In the morning he obſerved a ſmall hole in the roof, for the admiſſion of air, which was ſtrongly grated. In that dungeon he remained for two nights and as many days, with ſcarcely a morſel to eat; and was obliged to keep his mouth occaſionally moiſt with a liquid which decency forbids us to mention! The third night, at a late hour, he was removed in a coach, attended by three *retailers of human fleſh*, to the WHITE HORSE, in Whitcomb-ſtreet, for the purpoſe of being transferred to monſters ſtill more inhuman. During a fortnight's ſtay at this houſe, the barbarity of the treatment he met with is hardly to be deſcribed. On his arrival he was hurried up ſtairs, with a rope about his neck, by ſix or eight *ruffians*, who ſtripped him of all his clothes, and gave him a red jacket and trowſers in their ſtead. A barber was then called, who cut off his hair, and ſtruck him repeatedly in the face with his ſciſſars whenever the deponent muttered. An elderly man, with a wooden arm, called the WOODEN Juſtice, whom he deſcribed as a fellow dreſſed up in a large wig, &c. for the occaſion, offered to adminiſter the oath of allegiance, and demanded his ſignature to what he called an atteſtation. The proſecutor, on refuſing to com-

ply

ply with this requiſition, was beaten in a moſt unmerciful manner by all that were preſent, eſpecially by the priſoner Kerr, who ſwore he would murder him, and actually knocked the upper teeth of one ſide out of their ſockets. The proſecutor was then left to ruminate on his deplorable ſituation. Next night the application was renewed, and in caſe of refuſal, a repetition of the ſame diſcipline was threatened. He found reſiſtance ineffectual, and conſented to ſign the atteſtation. After paſſing ſeveral nights, or rather one continued night, in ſorrow and deſpair, he was taken from his cell at an early hour in the morning, in order to march to Banbury, (the head-quarters), there to join his company. Being quite exhauſted, from the contuſions he had received, and from the want of ſuſtenance, he was unable to keep pace with the reſt. Goading and beating could not ſupply the deficiency of nature, and his drivers put him into a waggon, which conveyed him to the place of deſtination. The recruits were about to undergo the cuſtomary examination before their colonel; when the proſecutor had the good fortune to intereſt the mayor of Banbury in his behalf. That gentleman, to his honour be it told, had the humanity to inſtitute an enquiry before the magiſtrates, reſpecting the conduct of theſe monſters in human form. The reſult was, that two of the number were fully committed to priſon, for being principals in the robbery, and the unfortunate man, after being a few days under the care of a ſurgeon, was furniſhed with clothes, and ſent to London, with a reference to profeſſional gentlemen, who are reſolved to bring to juſtice the perpetrators of ſuch atrocious and barbarous acts.

On a repreſentation of the caſe, Mr. ADDINGTON granted a warrant for the apprehenſion of the maſter (Kerr) of the White Horſe public houſe. He was, in conſequence,

appre-

apprehended, and brought to the office. The priſoner Ruggle had followed Kerr to the office for the purpoſe of vindicating his conduct. He ſaid, he was an agent for Capt. HAMMOND, who was raiſing an independent company, and that the proſecutor was duly enliſted. The proſecutor had previouſly recognized both the priſoners in the yard, and ſwore poſitively that they were two of the men who had robbed him.

At the requeſt of the priſoners, a ſhort interval was allowed them to explain away the matter. They procured an attorney, who produced an atteſtation, which purported to have been duly executed at the office in Queen-ſquare, but on minute inſpection, the deſcription did not by any means correſpond with the appearance of the proſecutor.

Mr. Addington obſerved, that it was not his duty to enter into the merits of the caſe. The evidence they offered might ſtand them in good ſtead at the Old Bailey. The evidence on the part of the crown was ſufficient for committing the priſoners; and he truſted, that this laudable, juſtly-ſpirited, and truly humane conduct of the magiſtrates at Banbury would be imitated, and put an end to that infamous ſyſtem of *kidnapping*, which is a diſgrace to any civilized country.

The priſoners were then conſigned to the proper officers, who conducted them to Newgate on trial.

The reſt of the parties charged with being concerned in this infamous tranſaction, have abſconded to ſome other part of the town to carry on their mal-practices.

Citizen,

I remember, once, in the Houſe of Commons, to have heard Edmund Burke exclaim againſt the firſt revolution in France,

France, (it was before Auguſt 1792) for having weakened the obligations of marriage, which, according to him, were held ſacred under the old government;—now to ſhew that the aforeſaid Edmund diſplayed, on that occaſion, his uſual regard to fact and fair argument, I requeſt you to republiſh the following paragraph from the St. James's Chronicle, Auguſt 25, 1785.

"Letters from Paris mention that there are no leſs "than four hundred divorces now pending before Parlia- "ment, and eight hundred more before the Chatelet. A "ſtriking proof to what a height the corruption of morals "is arrived in that kingdom, where divorces were un- "known till 1621." Your's,

Audi alteram factum.

The Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity, or a Moment's Reflection on the Creed of St. Athanaſius, by Adam S-j-u-n-r, Eſq.

"He therefore that will be ſaved, muſt thus think of Trinity."

THAT there is a God, an intelligent and free Being, of a perfect goodneſs, who made the univerſe, and continues to ſupport it ſtill, as well as to govern and direct it by his providence, all nature cries aloud in every moment of exiſtence. For when I behold the tender blade of graſs break through the ſurface of the ſtubborn earth, and view its daily growth, till it arrive at maturation, and then by nature caſts its ſeed for further increaſe, and the food of millions, to what can I attribute ſuch an act, but to a Being beyond deſcription bountiful?

When I behold with microſcopic eye, the wonders of an innumerable

innumerable world of animalculæ, how is my admiration multiplied, while my reaſon aſks who bade the vital heart to move in uniſon? Who bade the blood of inſects inviſible to the eye of nature, to run in regularity through the vital organs? Who but an Almighty Power? When I behold the ſtately tree perform its ſeaſonable functions, how can I but exclaim,

"The rolling year is full of thee."

When I behold thoſe animals ſo far in power and ſize ſuperior to us, to what can I attribute ſuch amazing works, but to an *Almighty Power*?

When I take an anatomical view of our own ſpecies, and view the wonderful whole perform its office, and find no one part but has its peculiar property, how can I but adore the Creator of ſuch a wonderful creature? And when I conſider the ſame, from the ſtately animal under whoſe weight the earth relaxes, to the animalculæ that are found to exiſt by thouſands in a drop of water, how far extended is my admiration! Although no ſigh, no groan, nor tear declares the agony of death that tears off every attribute of action from the dying inſect, when I reflect for a moment that as its vital heart ſuſpends from motion, it feels a pang, no leſs a pang than does the animal, whoſe groans in agony reſound through all the foreſt at the ſtroke of death, how can I but admire the nice concatenation of exiſtence?

When I turn my wandering eyes to the celeſtial vault, and view the many worlds rolling in concord through the etherial vaſt, how can I but exclaim, when I duly conſider all theſe, how can I but exclaim, in the words of the Pſalmiſt, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and "the firmament ſheweth his handy work?"

When I further conſider, that in all probability, we do not view a thouſandth part of what the heavens contain, I can-

cannot but be ſtruck with amazement at ſuch a multitude of glorious works, and to whom can I attribute them but to an ALMIGHTY GOD?

From what has here been ſaid, who can doubt but that there is a Father of mercies, a Power all-infinite, a Being beyond all thought incomprehenſible, whom we call GOD, and whom we worſhip under different forms.—I, in unity, by reaſon's dictates; for when I behold the Indian fall proſtrate and adore that glorious light, that world of fire, whoſe riſing beams break off his ſlumbers and call him from his beguiling bed, I pauſe, and juſt reflection whiſpers to my reaſon, *it muſt be ſo.* He, from the influence of nature, adores it as his *God*, and knows no other.—He cannot think that *Thou Almighty Father*, that thou art *three in one and one in three*; the dark and heavy veil of curſed ſuperſtition has not yet been hung around his mind by prieſts, the peſtilence of our land in former days, whoſe cry, when man did dare to argue againſt their undermining plots, was —"better that one ſhould die than nations ſuffer," and die he did, or elſe the afflicting rod of that great power, was by their hands of wickedneſs, ſure to oppreſs him, and thus the ray of reaſon was repulſed, nor ſuffered for many years, to perforate the veil of prieſtcraft, which was hung in thickeſt folds around the *reaſon of that age*.

Yet GREAT GOD OF MERCY, how do I ſhudder at the thought, when by the bigot education of a *Chriſtian!*—Bluſh, bluſh, ye bigots! Hide your diminiſhed heads, ye ſycophants!—I muſt condemn to tortures beyond deſcription terrible, ſo many millions of thy grand creation, becauſe they adore thee not, as *one in three and three in one incomprehenſible.*

Oh REASON! where art thou!—where is thy ſweet companion truth? Oh, where are ye?—Break forth, break from

from the bonds that bigotry has fettered on ye!—Diſperſe the miſt, ſhoot forth your beams and extricate poor erring man from that labyrinth, into which he has been led by the myſterious machination of prieſtcraft, whoſe myſtic mantle has ſhaded him from thy benign influence, and let him know ONE ONLY GOD, devoid of all incomprehenſibility, as touching the *Unity in Trinity*, *and Trinity in Unity*, and teach him to adore Him as a Power beyond compariſon, unutterably GOOD, ALL-MERCIFUL, ALMIGHTY!!!

A ſmall Treatiſe on Kingſhip, or the Trade of Monarchy.

YOU who hate the dictates of Reaſon, and ſcorn to follow ſhallow-pated Truth, it is to you I write; you you who are above the vulgarity of thinking; you who know the value of Kings, and adore them.

In diſcuſſing this trade, we ſhall firſt take a brief notice of the perſon who generally follows it; ſecondly, of the handicraft itſelf; and thirdly, of its effects.

Firſt of the perſon. Now, my countrymen, don't expect to ſee ſuch a uſeful ſwiniſh fellow as a ſhoemaker, taylor, ſcavenger, duſtman, or nightman, but a man—or ſomething more than a man, who looks far above the level of humanity, and conſiders the whole maſs of mankind as made for his views and uſe alone. "Out," he cries, "rebels, ſwine, brutes, and what not! I am a being of a "ſuperior caſt—for, if I pleaſe, I can take the bread out "of your mouths, the clothes off your backs; for your "all is mine, and none dare diſpute with me."

And then, my countrymen, when this *demi-god*, *angel*, or what you will, chooſes to bleſs the eyes of his people with

with the bleſſedneſs of his countenance, he comes forth like the morning ſun, irradiating all the univerſe. And when you ſee him he exclaims, "Look at my crown, "look at my crown; bleſs me, that I do not ſacrifice you "for my delight—down, and lick the duſt before me!"—for it is not Heaven who orders the ſun to run its courſe, and vegetate the earth, but it is the King.—Now this perſon moſtly keeps a band of penſioners, ſome at 10,000l. ſome at 20,000l. nay, ſome at 40,000l. per annum. Thus he loads his favourites with unconſcionable burdens, grievous to be borne, which you muſt not touch with your little finger, while his moſt gracious Majeſty—makes his ſubjects as free from caſh and comfort, as he himſelf is of feeling, and his courtiers of honeſty—(I mean the Kings of former times—not now—the courſe is altered, and bleſſings flow from them like guineas from a miſer's cheſt.) Now, ſome of theſe penſioners twiddle and fiddle about his majeſty, ſome light him to bed, ſome keep his tail from draggling in the dirt, ſome are chamber-maids, —ſome neceſſary women, ſome, like Jews, ſnap up his clothes, and ſome like jack-daws, perpetually chattering in his ear, "your majeſty is the delight of the earth, the "terror of the univerſe. All your people adore your be-"nevolence, and all the world admires your wiſdom; "and ſo on."—He moſtly keeps a parcel of moving machines, with little prickling things in their hands,—to keep his majeſty from being ſoiled with the nauſeous hands of the people, and his ear from being peſtered with their complaints, and yet, after all this, he may (mind, I do not ſay he is, but he may,) this ſupreme, delightful, wonderful, moſt gracious perſon, may be a murderer, a thief, or a fool.

Secondly,

Secondly, of the handicraft.—This handicraft conſiſts of three things, namely, to beſtow puniſhments upon his favorites, as titles, ribbons, places, and ſo on.—To beſtow bleſſings upon his people, as wars, taxes, famines, depopulations, and ſo on.—Thirdly, to make them believe they are bleſſed in ſuffering patiently, and paying willingly. Theſe are the purpoſes of the handicraft, and I ſhall explain each ſeparately.

Firſt, on puniſhment to favourites.—To gain this, the handicraft decrees a certain period of ſervice, but all do not ſerve alike,—if the perſon has intereſt in the legiſlature, (mind, I am talking of the people in the moon) there are ſpecifics for all ſuch evils, firſt, his mouth muſt be ſtopped by certain ſmall yellow cakes of gold, of wonderful efficacy in caſes of this nature. Secondly, he muſt be tied down by broad red, or blue fetters of ſilk, that he may not run away, for beaſts of this kind are ſometimes remarkably wild. And fourthly, his ears muſt be ſtopped by a conſtant repetition of my lord, and your lordſhip, and your grace.—Now all theſe are that he may not ſpeak things unfit for kings, run away from their clutches, or hear the murmurs of the people. Oh glorious blindneſs! Oh deſirable inſenſibility! This is part of this handicraft. I ſpeak next of thoſe who attain theſe things by ſervice.

Theſe generally are footmen, pimps, or ſomething elſe equally conſequential originally, who are willing to do any thing as they are directed, lye as much as wanted, and poſſeſs a countenance and tongue as hypocritical as the cauſe. Theſe, being fit for the purpoſes of monarchy, are at firſt employed in ſundry leſſer offices, as informing, coffee-houſe orations, and ſo on, next, perhaps they may obtain a ſmall place, or ſit for a borough, and after ſome years of lying to, impoſing on, and acting againſt, they

obtain

obtain ſuch a load as was before mentioned, or ſuch ſilken ties, and ſit down contented with the burthens they bear; —adviſing the people that they can never be better governed.—Truly we know it—ſycophants.

Now for the bleſsings he beſtows.—Oh! my ſoul is fired wi h admiration when I ſee man rid of the load of life, when I ſee thouſands biting the duſt, and human blood flowing freely to manure the earth,—when I ſee a land waſted, ſmoking with devaſtation, and wallowing in ruin; when I ſee the orphan dancing on its father's grave, and widows laughing over their huſband's corpſe. How ſhall I bleſs the authors of theſe glories; how bleſs the hand thus dealing proſperity to mankind; how exclaim, Theſe are the works of kings, and theſe animating views their glory and their higheſt boaſt. Hail! Hail! May you live.—But as I wiſh not to be thought a rebel, I will praiſe them no more.

(Such are the kings of the moon.)

Wars are wiſely, juſtly, and mercifully carried on, to prevent the human race from growing too powerful and numerous, ſo theſe wiſe butchers of mankind, have thought proper, every now and then, to give the world a weeding, and clear the earth of its ſupernumerary poſſeſſors, for, ſay they, if theſe *ſwine* begin to think, and grow fat and ſtrong, they will be grouting up our thrones, and, in conſequence of this philoſophical reaſoning, two of this handicraft will begin to quarrel, and ſet a parcel of men here, and another parcel there fighting, and Oh! how glorious is it to their feaſting eyes, to ſee ſome dead, ſome biting the earth with agony, others with their limbs lopped off. To ſee diſeaſe mow down thouſands, and peſtilence raging over a nation, affords them matter of delight. On the ſlaughter of war,—and the diſtreſs of conqueſt, they ſit rejoicing,

and

and from the mournings of the earth they reap pleaſure.

In conſequence of the delights of war, proceed the delights of taxes, for in the moon, (being all lunatics) the ſubjects are all willing and agreeable to part with them all to ſupport the *dear ſoul of a crown*, nay, there are ſome who part from their homes to pleaſe him,—elſe why do we ſee thouſands of families obliged to wander deſolate—whoſe very looks declare their ſatisfaction, and who bleſs kings, becauſe they have taken away their ſupport? Oh! happy reſignation, Oh! important bleſſings and generous loyalty.

Next his majeſty being ſorrowful to ſee his faithful ſubjects ſo extraordinary corpulent and well, doth graciouſly pleaſe, by certain ſecret meaſures, to eaſe them of that load alſo, for though the rich being perſons beneath the notice of royalty, are not bleſſed in this peculiar manner, yet the poor are the chief objects of his care, and from them he extracts the groſs juices connected together by plenty, and leaves them till they are fattened for another plundering. Thus famine rages beneath the covert of poverty, the hunger of the poor is not known to the rich;—the ſuffering of indigence is the ſupport of opulence, and the groans of wanting poverty, are the bleſſings ſent to heaven for the exiſtence of monarchy.

(This all happens in the moon.)

The next bleſſing of depopulation is the moſt important, as it debars young men from the grievous burthen of marriage, for if taxes are ſo few, and ſo few children are ſupported by the pariſh, or if they ſee ſo many men though they ſlave from day to day, obliged to depend upon the inſolent bounty of the rich, they are ſcared from the curſes of marriage, and ſtrew the ſtamina of human nature upon the winds:

winds ; millions of men by this method, are prevented from ever taſting the benefits of life, and as youths ſatisfy their paſſions elſewhere, this is the grand ſource of immorality and diſeaſe.—Hail! hail! ye foes of human nature, ye dæmons upon thrones, this is your triumph, to profit by forbidding the enjoyments of love, and eſtabliſh your empires on the miſeries of man.

(Yet this all happens in the moon).

The effects of this trade, are its own end.—For as men when they are too well treated by any thing begin to think they can live without it, ſo men finding themſelves ſcurvily treated by kings (I mean in the moon) begin to think them of leſs uſe than miſchief, they begin to think that peace is preferable to war, and the tranquillity of freedom to the buſtling tyranny of ambition.—It remains only for the friends of monarchy to tell them, as I have, more of its bleſſings.—To be blinded a little longer, that as kings are higher than Providence, it is blaſphemy to ſcandalize them, although they deſerve it, and that a little longer ſubjection will rivet the yoke ſo faſt, that it would be deſtruction to oppoſe it.

(I ſpeak this to the moon).

I ſhall conclude my ineſtimable defence of kings, by a parable from ſcripture.

The trees of the foreſt once ſet their heads together to make themſelves a king, but could not agree upon the choice, the vine would not leave his precious juices that gladden the hearts of men, the fig-tree would not deſert his figs,—and ſo on, till at laſt they fixed upon a bramble, and ſaid come thou and reign over us,—for why? For three things,

1. The bramble was good for nothing.
2. It had prickles, and conſequently,

3. It

3. It could do hurt.

And this I conſider a ſufficient defence for a trade ſo agreeable and beneficial to the world.

THERE IS A MORE MANLY WAY OF OBTAINING REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES, THAN THAT OF PULLING DOWN HOUSES.

WHEN in the ſeſſion of 1790, an act had paſſed the lower houſe in Ireland, ſubjecting the journeymen of Dublin, on their changing their employers to produce a diſcharge from their former maſter, one day, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of the members, it was announced that a body of men, four in breadth and of unknown length, had already entered Grafton-ſtreet and were bearing down upon the houſe. The ſheriff made haſte to meet them.—'Gentlemen, if you want any redreſs of grievances, and I can be of ſervice to you.'—'Mind your own buſineſs, Sir.' The proceſſion moved on in ſilence; they were without arms, without ſticks; they were ſober. In the mean time a meſſage had been ſent to the barracks, a large body of horſe was immediately vomited out of the *officina necionis*, (ſlaughter-houſe) they came pouring down the ſtreets the glittering deluge,—horrible in arms. On their arrival at College-green, (the ſpacious ſtreet before the Parliament Houſe) the unnumbered phalanx of unarmed infantry had taken its ſtation; they were *reſting on their legs*. They looked one upon another and ſaid nothing. In the mean while ſome of the lords met the ſpeakers of the journeymen. "We call upon your lordſhips to throw out the bill "now before you, wherein the Commons have reduced "us to the ſtate of menial ſervants."—"Gentlemen, your

"caſe

" caſe will be conſidered. The lords will do you juſtice." Three tremendous cheers ſhook the region of air, and the nerves of the guilty, and the unnumbered hoſt of plebeians departed in peace. As they went off radially, or in all directions, as from a centre, in a few minutes they diſappeared, though their numbers were ſuch that they had when ſtanding, ſtretched to ſuch length round the houſes, between Suffolk-ſtreet and College-green, as to nearly inſulate them.

But how had they contrived to be ſo regular in their movements. They had met on a ſpacious plain (the fifteen acres) in the Phœnix Park, there formed an immenſe circle, ſent in deputies or repreſentatives to the centre, who now conferring in cloſe debate, again returning to inform and conſult their Conſtituents, at length planned out the line of conduct to be obſerved, and the line of march or route to be followed, which was circuitous, to avoid alarming the city, by marching directly through it.

THE MISERIES OF WAR.

What art thou, faſcinating War?
Thou trophied painted peſt,
That thus men ſeek, and thee abhor,
Purſue and yet deteſt?

Are honour and remorſe the ſame,
Does murder laurels bring;
Is rapine glory, carnage fame,
Flies crime on victory's wing?

Their wrongs which never ſhall return,
Their woes that but ſurvive to mourn,
E'en when the battle rages high,

When

When to the charge the legions fly,
And the trumpets ſtrike the ear,
Shall from the braveſt wreſt a ſigh,
That ſtarts ſoft *pity's* tear.

Where will Ambition's folly reach?
Sure nature ne'er deſign'd
Her noble gifts, an art ſhould teach
To man to thin his kind:
Well they deſerve their country's care,
In its defence who fight,
Who bulwarks of their nation are,
Its glory, its delight;
Yet for their wrongs who ne'er return,
Their woes who but ſurvive to mourn;
E'en when the battle rages high,
When to the charge the legions fly,
And trumpets cleave the ear,
The truly brave ſhall heave a ſigh,
Shall vent kind *pity's* tear.
Then do not for an empty name,
A phantom thus purſue,
Think that if glory mark thy fame,
Murder ſhall mark it too.
Reaſon and peace and love dwell here,
And if for others woe
We heave the ſigh, and ſtart the tear,
From guilt they never flow.
Ah! ſtay, leſt thou ſhouldſt ne'er return,
Leſt I ſhould but ſurvive to mourn;
Leſt when the battle rages high,
When to the charge the legions fly,
And trumpets cleave the ear,
Thy fate demands the generous ſigh,
And mine the pitying tear.

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To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

By inſerting the following Extracts from VOLNEY's moſt maſterly Work, entitled A Survey of the Revolutions of Empires, you will oblige

A CITIZEN.

Source of the Evils of Society.

SCARCELY were the faculties of men expanded, than, ſeized by the attraction of objects which flatter the ſenſes, they gave themſelves up to unbridled deſires. The ſweet ſenſations which nature had annexed to their true wants, to attach them to life, no longer ſufficed. Not ſatisfied with the fruits which the earth offered them, or their induſtry produced, they were deſirous of heaping up enjoyments, and they coveted thoſe which their fellow creatures poſſeſſed. A ſtrong roſe up againſt a weak man, to tear from him the profit of his labour: the weak man ſolicited the ſuccour of a neighbour, weak like himſelf, to repel the violence.

violence. The ſtrong man in his turn aſſociated himſelf with another ſtrong man, and they ſaid: "Why ſhould "we fatigue our arms in producing enjoyments which we "find in the hands of the feeble, who are unable to defend "themſelves? Let us unite and plunder them. They "ſhall toil for us, and we will enjoy in indolence the fruit "of their exertions." The ſtrong thus aſſociating for the purpoſe of oppreſſion, and the weak for reſiſtance, men reciprocally tormented each other, and a fatal and general diſcord was eſtabliſhed upon the earth, in which the paſſions, aſſuming a thouſand new forms, have never ceaſed to generate a regular train of calamities.

Thus that very principle of ſelf-love, which, when reſtrained within the limits of prudence, was a ſource of improvement and felicity, became transformed, in its blind and diſordered ſtate, into a contagious poiſon. Cupidity, the daughter and companion of ignorance, has produced all the miſchiefs that have deſolated the globe.

Yes, ignorance and the love of accumulation, theſe are the two ſources of all the plagues that infeſt the life of man! They have inſpired him with falſe ideas of his happineſs, and prompted him to miſconſtrue and infringe the laws of nature, as they related to the connection between him and exterior objects. Through them his conduct has been injurious to his own exiſtence, and he has thus violated the duty he owes to himſelf; they have fortified his heart againſt compaſſion, and his mind againſt the dictates of juſtice, and he has thus violated the duty he owes to others. By ignorance and inordinate deſire, man has armed himſelf againſt man, family againſt family, tribe againſt tribe, and the earth is converted into a bloody theatre of diſcord and robbery. They have ſown the ſeeds of ſecret war in the boſom of every ſtate, divided the citizens from each other, and the ſame ſociety is conſtituted of oppreſ-

ſors

ſors and oppreſſed, of maſters and ſlaves. They have taught the heads of nations, with audacious inſolence, to turn the arms of the ſociety againſt itſelf, and to build upon mercenary avidity, the fabric of political deſpotiſm: or they have taught a more hypocritical and deep laid project, that impoſed as the dictate of heaven, lying ſanctions and a ſacrilegious yoke; thus rendering avarice the ſource of credulity. In fine, they have corrupted every idea of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt, virtue and vice; they have miſled nations in a never ending labyrinth of calamity and miſtake. Ignorance and the love of accumulation!.... Theſe are the malevolent beings that have laid waſte the earth; theſe are the decrees of fate that have overturned empires; theſe are the celeſtial maledictions that have ſtruck thoſe walls once ſo glorious, and converted the ſplendor of a populous city into a ſad ſpectacle of ruins!.... Since then it was from his own boſom all the evils proceeded that have vexed the life of man, it was there alſo he ought to have ſought the remedies, where only they are to be found.

General Cauſes of the Proſperity of Ancient States.

SUCH, O man, who enquires after wiſdom, have been the cauſes of the revolutions of thoſe ancient ſtates of which you contemplate the ruins! Upon whatever ſpot I fix my view, or to whatever period my thoughts recur, the ſame principles of elevation and decline, of proſperity and deſtruction, preſent themſelves to the mind. If a people were powerful, if an empire flouriſhed, it was becauſe the laws of convention were conformable to thoſe of nature; becauſe the government procured to every man reſpectively the free uſe of his faculties, the equal ſecurity of his perſon and property. On the contrary, if an empire

pire has fallen to ruin or diſappeared, it is becauſe the laws were vicious or imperfect, or a corrupt government has checked their operation. If laws and government, at firſt rational and juſt, have afterwards become depraved, it is becauſe the alternative of good and evil derives from the nature of the heart of man, from the ſucceſſion of his inclinations, the progreſs of his knowledge, the combination of events and circumſtances; as the hiſtory of the human ſpecies proves.

In the infancy of nations, when men ſtill lived in foreſts, all ſubject to the ſame wants, and endowed with the ſame faculties, they were nearly equal in ſtrength; and this equality was a circumſtance highly advantageous in the formation of ſociety. Each individual finding himſelf independent of every other, no one was the ſlave, and no one had the idea of being maſter of another. Untaught man knew neither ſervitude nor tyranny. Supplied with the means of providing ſufficiently for his ſubſiſtence, he thought not of borrowing from ſtrangers. Owing nothing, and exacting nothing, he judged of the rights of others by his own. Ignorant alſo of the art of multiplying enjoyments, he provided only what was neceſſary; and ſuperfluity being unknown to him, the deſire to engroſs of conſequence remained unexcited; or if excited, as it attacked others in thoſe poſſeſſions that were wholly indiſpenſible, it was reſiſted with energy, and the very foreſight of this reſiſtance maintained a ſalutary and immoveable equilibrium

Thus original equality, without the aid of convention, maintained perſonal liberty, ſecured individual property, and produced order and good manners. Each man laboured ſeparately and for himſelf; and his heart being occupied, he wandered not in purſuit of unlawful deſires. His enjoyments were few, but his wants were ſatisfied: and

as

as nature had made theſe wants leſs extenſive than his ability, the labour of his hands ſoon produced abundance; abundance population; the arts developed themſelves, cultivation extended, and the earth, covered with numerous inhabitants, was divided into different domains.

The relations of men becoming complicated, the interior order of ſociety was more difficult to maintain. Time and induſtry having created affluence, cupidity awoke from its ſlumber; and as equality, eaſy between individuals, could not ſubſiſt between families, the national balance was deſtroyed. It was neceſſary to ſupply the loſs by means of an artificial balance; it was neceſſary to appoint chiefs, and eſtabliſh laws; but as theſe were occaſioned by cupidity, in the experience of primitive times, they could not but partake of the origin from which they ſprung. Various circumſtances however concurred to temper the diſorder, and make it indiſpenſible for governments to be juſt.

States being at firſt weak, and having external enemies to fear, it was in reality of importance to the chiefs not to oppreſs the ſubject. By diminiſhing the intereſt of the citizen in their government, they would have diminiſhed their means of reſiſtance: they would have facilitated foreign invaſion, and thus endangered their own exiſtence for ſuperfluous enjoyments.

Internally, the character of the people was repellent to tyranny. Men had too long contracted habits of independence; their wants were too limited, and the conſciouſneſs of their own ſtrength too inſeparable from their minds.

States being cloſely knit together, it was difficult to divide the citizens, in order to oppreſs ſome by means of others. Their communication with each other was too eaſy, and their intereſts too ſimple and evident. Beſide,

every

every man being at once proprietor and cultivator, he had no inducement to ſell himſelf, and the deſpot would have been unable to find mercenaries.

If diſſentions aroſe, it was between family and family, one faction with another; and a conſiderable number had ſtill one common intereſt. Diſputes, it is true, were in this caſe more warm, but the fear of foreign invaſion appeaſed the diſcord. If the oppreſſion of a party was effected, the earth being open before it, and men, ſtill ſimple in their manners, finding every where the ſame advantages, the party migrated and carried their independence to another quarter.

Ancient ſtates then enjoyed in themſelves numerous means of proſperity and power.

As every man found his well being in the conſtitution of his country, he felt a lively intereſt in its preſervation; and if a foreign power invaded it, having his habitation and his field to defend, he carried to the combat the ardour of a perſonal cauſe, and his patriotic exertions were prompted by ſelf-defence.

As every action uſeful to the public excited its eſteem and gratitude, each was eager to be uſeful, and talents and civil virtues were multiplied by ſelf-love.

As every citizen was called upon indiſcriminately to contribute his proportion of property and perſonal effort, the armies and the treaſuries of the ſtate were inexhauſtible.

As the earth was free, and its poſſeſſion eaſy and ſecure, every man was a proprietor, and the diviſion of property, by rendering luxury impoſſible, preſerved the purity of manners.

As every man ploughed his own field, cultivation was more active, proviſions more abundant, and individual opulence conſtituted the public wealth.

As

As abundance of proviſion rendered ſubſiſtence eaſy, population rapidly increaſed, and ſtates quickly arrived at their plenitude.

As the produce was greater than the conſumption, the deſire of commerce ſtarted up, and exchanges were made between different nations, which were an additional ſtimulus to their activity, and increaſed their reciprocal enjoyments.

In fine, as certain places in certain epochas combined the advantage of good government with that of being placed in the road of circulation and commerce, they became rich magazines of trade, and powerful ſeats of dominion. It was in this manner that the riches of India and Europe, accumulated upon the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, gave ſucceſſive exiſtence to the ſplendor of a thouſand metropoliſes.

The people, become rich, applied their ſuperfluity of means to labours of public utility; and this was, in every ſtate, the æra of thoſe works, the magnificence of which aſtoniſhes the mind; thoſe wells of Tyre, thoſe artificial banks of the Euphrates, thoſe conduits of Medea, thoſe fortreſſes of the Deſert, thoſe aqueducts of Palmyra, thoſe temples, thoſe porticos. . . . And theſe immenſe labours were little oppreſſive to the nations that completed them, becauſe they were the fruit of the equal and united effort of individuals free to act and ardent to deſire.

Thus ancient ſtates proſpered, becauſe ſocial inſtitutions were conformable to the true laws of nature, and becauſe the ſubjects of thoſe ſtates, enjoying liberty and the ſecurity of their perſons and their property, could diſplay all the extent of their faculties, and all the energy of ſelf-love.

A TALE

A TALE OF THE TIMES.

BY A MAN MOURNING FOR HIS COUNTRY.

A king may be a tool, a *thing of ſtraw*. But if he ſerves to frighten our enemies, and ſecure our properties, it is well enough. A ſcarecrow is a *thing of ſtraw*, but it protects the corn.

SWIFT.

I apprehend, ſaid a Bramin, that REPUBLICS are very ſcarce in all parts; it is but ſeldom men *deſerve to govern themſelves*. This *happineſs* muſt belong only to ſmall nations concealing themſelves in *iſlands*, or amidſt mountains, like rabbets, ſhunning *carnivorous beaſts*, but at length diſcovered and deſtroyed.

VOLTAIRE.

THE mild beams of the evening ſun ſhone upon the ſpires of the village church, the cooling breezes fanned the leaves of the trees, whilſt Richard and Harriet walked arm in arm over the flowery meadows. They were going to milk the cows, and pleaſed themſelves with talking on the theme of love.

I will love you, my Harriet, ſaid Richard, ſo long as I live. O how charming will it be hereafter to ſee our children playing about us on an evening. You ſhall have my ſupper ready for me, when I come from hedging, and then, my beloved, will we forget the toils of the day.—In ſweet ſolace and innocent endearments ſhall our days paſs away, and ſo long as my Harriet ſmiles when I enter my cottage, my heart ſhall rejoice, and leap forward to meet her.

So ſpake Richard, his ſoul enjoying beforehand all thoſe bleſſings he hoped for, and his imagination feeding on this picture of peace.—The lovely, the tender Harriet preſſed his hand in ſilence. The rapture of pure and harmleſs love, added to the modeſty of a maiden, took from

from her power to anſwer, and bluſhing ſhe leant on the arm of her lover.

After their labour they returned towards the village, from whence they heard the ſounds of warlike muſic. They quicken their pace; they ſee a recruiting ſergeant, with blazing ſword and pompous air.—*War*, cried he, is glorious, glory is honour, honour is riches, riches are happineſs. All then who would be happy follow me, for war is happineſs.

The ſimple ſwains believed him—they felt a deſire to fight, for the muſic elevated their ſouls.

We want to be happy, ſaid Richard; I will go a very little time to the wars, and return to my Harriet with honour and riches. You ſhall partake them with me, and we ſhall not then regret this parting.——Ah, Richard! ſhe replied, the pearly drop falling from her eye, ah, Richard! it was but juſt now you thought of being happy in a cottage; but this naughty man deceives you with high ſounding words.—Conſider what honour you will gain by killing your fellow men; and perhaps thoſe you would deſtroy may have wives and tender children, who muſt then come on the pariſh, or perhaps beg.

Richard heaved a deep ſigh; he turned in his mind the fair ſpeeches of this trepanner. He ſaw his comrade enliſt. His pride made him deſire to gain riches and fame; his pride would not ſuffer him to be called coward. Whilſt he thus heſitated he ſees Edward, his friend, who but a few months before married a lovely damſel, enliſt, and is preſſed by him to go to glory. The balance turns. Though his ſoul is torn to pieces by love, though he ſees the tears and piteous looks of his gentle Harriet, he holds out his hand and receives the fatal ſhilling, doom of his everlaſting miſery. He is now enrolled amongſt *heroes;*

he

he flames through the village in his uniform and cockade, and conceives himſelf already an Alexander.

Simple youth! in an evil hour waſt thou led aſtray from the paths of peace, to become the tool of ambition and vice. I tremble whilſt I write, with rage, with pity. My paſſions ſcarcely contain themſelves, when I conſider the WRONGS of MAN. But I reſtrain myſelf; I return to the tale of Richard.

Suffer me to paſs over their ſeparation; it is impoſſible I ſhould paint ſo tragical a parting. The fainting Harriet was left in the arms of the ſpouſe of Edward. The two heroes took a laſt look. Nature overcame their heroiſm; with tears, and ſullen and ſilent, repenting too late, they left the village.

Edward and Richard were at the taking of Valenciennes. They beheld the miſeries of human nature; and whilſt they fought for *glory*, forgot they fought againſt Liberty—Liberty, the balm, the only bleſſing of life, for without thee, fair goddeſs, we are miſerable. Liberty, for which our anceſtors bled, and to which every other conſideration was nothing, O how are thy ſons blinded and led away. —Britons no longer love freedom, or they would not fight againſt it.

Edward was taken with a fever and flux, owing to fatigue and ſleeping on the damp ground, with not ſo much as ſtraw beneath him. His friend was hurried away to a ſtation in the woods, near Dunkirk. The midnight dews fell upon him, and whilſt the winds bluſtered in his ears, and around him, he remembered with regret his Harriet, and his father's homely cot. Cold and ſteeped in rain, he ſtood trembling, liſtening now and then, with his ear to the ground, to hear if the ſounds of man approached, and fancying in every ſhaking of the trees he heard the enemy.

Ah,

Ah, unhappy youth, ſad was thy fate, when thou waſt torn from thy country, to be the prey of war! The morning riſes upon him, he is marſhalled in the ranks, the enemy draw near. The rolling thunder of the cannon echoes through the vault of heaven; the ſun is obſcured by duſt and ſmoke, and hides its face from deeds like theſe. The ſons of freedom ruſh upon the ſlaves of deſpots; univerſal deſtruction and carnage rages in the ranks; Richard is wounded in five places, he is trampled under foot in the fight, and mingled with heaps of dead and dying, he remains till the next morning; he is then thrown into a cart, ſcarcely exiſting, pale and exhauſted with hunger and loſs of blood. The ſurgeons torture him to extract the balls, his leg begins to mortify, they cut it off, and he lingers two days in acute miſery. Nature is now ſpent, the lamp of life is nearly exhauſted; it glimmers but a moment, and that moment is ſpent in pronouncing the name of Harriet.

Edward, lingering amidſt hundreds on the bed of diſeaſe, heard of the death of his friend, from one of his former comrades, who had loſt an arm and an eye at Valenciennes. It was I, ſaid he, who enticed him away, unhappy wretch that I am, come here to fight for King and Country, and I don't know what. We were told one Engliſhman would beat two Frenchmen, but I think it is us who are beaten.

He who had loſt an eye and a leg ſhook his head and ſaid, I don't know what buſineſs we have here at all. Should we like it, Ned, if the Auſtrians and thoſe black-whiſkered Pruſſians ſhould come into our country, and tell us we ſhould do as they pleaſed? If ſo be as we pleaſed to hang a man for betraying us, I ſuppoſe as how we are to aſk them firſt. *A parcel of ſlaves!*

The

The latter part of this ſpeech was unattended to. The ſufferings of Edward were ended; his ſoul had waſted its way from this region of oppreſſion and evil.

When Harriet heard of the death of her beloved, every endearing tie, every comfort of life was deſtroyed; ſhe wandered about the village a few days, bemoaning her fate in accents of ſadneſs. Her ſenſes became touched, and paſſing one night by the ſtill and ſilent water, ſhe plunged at once to meet her lover and to quit a world unworthy of her.—Ye who pity the fate of Harriet, remember its cauſe.

The widow of Edward, with her babe, ſought relief from the pariſh. They ſeized upon her, (hard-hearted wretches!) and, like a malefactor, ſent her in a cart to the next, and they, in turn, would not own her. What treatment is this for the widow of a man ſlain in war—I ſay not fighting for his country! Yet this picture is daily exhibited in our villages; yet this is the land of freedom. The deareſt *rights of man* are burſt aſunder; and to pamper pride and ambition, the lives of our countrymen are wantoned away.

We have as much buſineſs to interfere in the conteſt of France againſt tyrants, as the *ſublime* and *pious* Lady of the North has to embrace the lands of Poland, or as the Mogul has to come and give us laws.—How long ſhall we remain in darkneſs, how long be uſed as beaſts of the earth, and the many be ſacrificed to the few?—Countrymen and fellow citizens, how is the love of liberty decayed, and the luſtre of Britain become dim! Who is to ſatisfy us for the loſs of our brethren, daily offered up a ſacrifice to *power?*—Innumerable are the arts uſed to trepan our youth. They are led as lambs to the ſlaughter!

And ye men of might, ye who reign at preſent on the earth, and weed mankind, leſt population ſhould increaſe, have

have ye no conſcience; or has Heaven beſtowed upon you this *only diſtinction*, in creating you without one?—What is it you propoſe by murdering your *fellows?*—Do you think by overwhelming them in calamity, you ſhall extinguiſh the voice of truth? You are wrong. For truth ſhall ſhine reſplendent as the morning ſun, it ſhall illumine all nations of the earth. And remember, a time cometh when mankind ſhall cry, Reward her even as ſhe hath rewarded you; and double unto her double, according to her works; in the cup which ſhe hath filled, fill her double. How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much torment and ſorrow give her.

Mr. Editor,

PERHAPS it will not be unreaſonable, in this faſhionable age, to expect the thanks of our card-table parties for the following account of the moſt faſhionable *national* games at preſent playing in the world.

In America, *Commerce* is the game of games; ſhe would wiſh to play it with the whole world, but ſo unreaſonable are many of the nations of it, that they ſelfiſhly ſtrive for an excluſive right to play with her:—ſhe has yet, however, very dexterouſly played her cards with them all; and I ſincerely hope ſhe will ſtill be able to carry her point.—Ruſſia and Pruſſia are both extremely anxious to revive the old game of *Beggar my neighbour;* while Poland is obliged to ſit down by herſelf to a ſober game at *Patience.*—Ruſſia does not at preſent join in any other game: but ſhe is ſurpriſingly dexterous at *ſhuffling* the cards.—The French are obliged by the ſurrounding nations to play a deſperate game at *Hazard.*—But the moſt faſh-

faſhionable game, and what is played at univerſally, is *Brag*. This they all underſtand, and vie with each other which ſhall play at it beſt.

I wiſh that England may have conſidered well before ſhe made her choice. Be that as it may, ſhe ſeems to have engaged deeply in the new game of *Connections*; which, as it is ſaid to be of Pruſſian invention, is ſuſpected to have been originally contrived with a view of introducing an above-named old-faſhioned game; in which caſe I fear ſhe will be *out-witted* by her *neighbour*, and then ſhe will be in imminent danger of being obliged to learn the French or the Poliſh game.—If ſhe would turn her whole attention to the American game, and learn to play *that* well, ſhe might with juſtice expect to become a very ſucceſsful adventurer among the party at *Brag*.

I am, &c.

A BYE-STANDER.

A Prieſt defined.

THE ſordid commerce of myſterious lies
With every good th' IMPOSTOR PRIEST ſupplies:
In ev'ry age the PRIEST with blood was cloyed;
Behold the Jews by Moſes' hand deſtroyed,
Behold the piles which Roman martyrs feed;
All prieſts are murderers, licens'd by their creed.
To damn the ſage, the unbeliever kill,
The heav'ns with fools, the earth with ſlaves to fill;
The laws to barter, benedictions ſell,
And raiſe an empire at the gates of hell;
Such is the ſpirit of the Roman prieſt,
Such Greece produced, ſuch Egypt, and the Eaſt.

CERUTTI.

A NEW SONG.

Tune—*Bow, wow, wow.*

CITIZENS of London, liſten to my ſtory,
And hear me relate the ſad fall of your glory,
The loſs of your *Privileges*, *Charters*, and *Freedom*,
For your members have thought proper to ſay, you don't need 'em.
Bow, wow, wow.

They've ſmuggl'd in a bill to raiſe a new Militia;
Their motives for which to know they do not wiſh you.
But 'tis only to ſtrengthen an arbritrary power,
And make it th' eaſier to ſend folks to the Tower.

Yet the bill was preſented by your members in parliament;
But the man muſt be blind who cannot ſee what 'twas they meant;
For, as Colonels, &c. we ſee they've got ſnug places,
For which, in a ſnug Pill'ry they deſerve to ſhew their faces.

If ſuch laws are permitted to paſs unregarded,
Depend on it, Cits, you'll be duly rewarded;
You'll put a rod in pickle to flog your own a——s,
And the raſcals in power will laugh at what paſſes.

Our fathers were wiſe folk, and they knew much better]
Than thus on their freedom to fix a conſtant fetter;
For who that knows aught of a force military,
But knows its a badge worn by power arbitrary.

And

And this new Militia, you'll find, to your ſorrow,
Your Servants to-day 'll be your Maſters to-morrow.
Whene'er the rogues in pow'r ſhall think proper ſo to order them,
They'll value not their maſters, but fire away and murder them.

And ſhould you e'er pretend to debate on what's doing,
The Court will ſmell a rat, and pretend miſchief's brewing;
They'll order the Militia out, and from ſpeaking debar you;
But if you NOW ſubmit may they feather you and tar you.

Already they begin not to mind your opinions,
And your liberty is ſported with by arbitrary minions.
Maſter CROOME has been ſent to the Compter by the Mayor,
Juſt for wiſhing you to ſpeak what you thought of this affair.

So I'd have you beware of your words and your notions,
Or you'll each have a ſoldier to watch all your motions;
For to try if with fear and with terror they can fill you;
There's a reg'ment at the Manſion-houſe all ready for to kill ye.

Citizens of London, ſhow a Britiſh ſpirit;
Your fathers were *free men*, and you the name inherit.
Aſſert your native rights, nor a tittle of them barter,
Our birth-right is Freedom, and we'll die or keep the Charter.

Bow, wow, wow.

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1794.

The SPEECH which might have been made by the Counſel for ROBERT WATT and DAVID DOWNIE, condemned for HIGH TREASON on the 3d and 5th of September 1794.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

IT has heretofore been the boaſt of the Britiſh Government that the conductors of criminal proſecutions have adhered in practice to the maxim, 'that it is better that ten guilty men ſhould eſcape than that one innocent man ſhould ſuffer;' and purſuant to this principle the judges and counſel for the proſecution have uſually given full weight to every favorable circumſtance, and been very cautious of urging the condemnation without unequivocal proof of the priſoner's guilt.—But where is this boaſted privilege of Britons now? You have heard from the counſel for the crown arguments urging you to condemn the

the priſoner, not by proving him to be criminal, for I will venture to aſſert that this neither is nor can be proved, but addreſſed to the worſt of your paſſions—to your fears. By alarming you with the dangerous nature of the crime of which he is accuſed, you may be betrayed, in your eagerneſs to deter others, precipitately to condemn the innocent.

I hope I need not remind you that it is your duty to inveſtigate the proofs now adduced in evidence before you, and how far the facts proved conſtitute the crime of which your verdict muſt condemn or acquit the pannel;—that on theſe you are to form your own opinion, and not to follow the directions of authority. To you, and not to the judge, the law has committed the ſacred truſt to decide upon the character and the life of your fellow-citizen: nor ſhould I deem it needful, or even proper, to mention this, but that upon ſome late trials * jurymen have been ſelected who had previouſly declared themſelves againſt the accuſed; and I now ſee on the bench a Lord Juſtice who in other caſes has been known and admitted to have prejudged them.

Thus, to be accuſed has been to be condemned. Is Terror ſtill to be the order of the day? Is law to be ſet aſide wholly, and the government of a James the Second, or a Robeſpierre, to be revived in Britain? Upon your verdict it depends to decide this awful queſtion. When James the Second was expelled the Britiſh throne, and the Prince of Orange elected by the unanimous voice of the nation, the wiſdom of our anceſtors, to guard againſt a repetition of thoſe violations of the conſtitution they had recently ſuffered, deviſed the declaration of our rights in thirteen articles. This declaration was read to the prince

* See Trials of Muir, of Gerald, &c. &c. &c.

and

and princeſs of Orange in the preſence of both Houſes of the Convention, and in the names of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, previous to, and as the condition upon which they were elected king and queen of England; concluding, "And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all and ſingular the premiſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought, on any account, to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example." This declaration was next paſſed into a law; and that it is looked upon as the baſis of our conſtitution, after the experience of more than a hundred years, has been admitted by the expounders of our law in the preſent day ſo recently as the trial of Paine; the Attorney General treated his ſpeaking of this bill as impotent and uſeleſs as a groſs offence; and reciting it, he declared it to be ſo excellent, and its meaning ſo obvious, that it would be profane to attempt to elucidate it by a comment—he "would not profane it with a comment."

After this we ſhall hardly be told that the meaning of this bill is obſcure, and contrary to what it appears to be. Now, what is the obvious meaning of article 7th, "That the ſubjects who are Proteſtants may keep arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition as allowed by law?" The reaſon this liberty is reſtricted to Proteſtants is plain; it is notorious that by the principles of the Catholic religion, "No faith is to be kept with heretics," a principle not merely ſpeculative, but carried into practice whenever opportunity has offered. In England Queen Mary maſſacred thouſands; in France Charles IX. under the maſk of friendſhip, collected all the Proteſtants he could together, and had them maſſacred in one night: in 1641 the Iriſh Catholics murdered 40,000 Proteſtants;

and

and James had recently been purſuing the ſame ſteps. This right is therefore reſtricted to Proteſtants of all denominations; nor from that time to the preſent has a ſingle inſtance occurred of its being abuſed. Of arming "ſuitable to their condition," none can be more ſo than pikes, not only as being cheap, but alſo as not being ſubject to be abuſed—to be uſed in aſſaſſination, or in diſtant and ſecret murders, as guns, piſtols and daggers may. But pikes cannot be carried concealed, and are utterly unſuitable to any nefarious purpoſe; but, being poſſeſſed by the people at large, may, and are likely to prevent bloodſhed, diſturbances, or revolutions, by deterring ſuch kings as James the Second from attempting to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm; in a word, to anſwer the expreſs purpoſe for which the right of keeping arms was claimed, demanded and inſiſted upon by the prudent foreſight of our anceſtors!

I poſſeſs ſome little property in the country, and I confeſs that I do not apprehend it would be at all endangered if every peaſant in the kingdom was poſſeſſed of a pike. Even ſoldiers, whoſe trade is murder, are not accuſtomed to quarrel and fight among themſelves, yet idleneſs and intoxication are more prevalent among them than in other claſſes of men: theſe have a natural tendency to produce quarrels; hence it ſeems that ſome other cauſe counteracts this, and that cauſe I take to be the habit of carrying arms. It ſeems to me natural that this habit ſhould induce a greater degree of caution to avoid broils, by preſenting to the mind the ſerious conſequences that may enſue. If, indeed, an oppreſſed people, like the African ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, groaning in miſery, and panting for vengeance, ſhould at once be preſented with arms, doubtleſs they would be likely to turn upon their oppreſſors; but this argument does not, nor, while

our

our conſtitution exiſts, *can* it ever apply to this happy iſland. Under a government like that of James the Second, it would indeed be dangerous to arm the people; and to prevent the revival of ſuch a government it was that our anceſtors ſtipulated for the right to carry arms; ſuch a government it would indeed be their intereſt to overthrow. But the government eſtabliſhed at the Revolution it is no leſs their intereſt to preſerve: it has indeed made us a great and happy people. The conviction of being free, (and no article of the Bill of Rights tends ſo much to confirm this conviction as that which maintains our right to carry arms) is what has encouraged induſtry and occaſioned riches: it has animated our fleets and armies, and crowned us with victory and conqueſt over more numerous nations. If the cauſe ceaſes, will not the effect alſo ceaſe? It will moſt certainly! indeed this is admitted by all ranks of people. The people love the conſtitution; and the argument that the French had interfered in our internal government, and raiſed inſurrections to deſtroy this conſtitution, alarmed the whole nation ſo much, that though it is now known that the inſurrections his majeſty was told of never had exiſtence, the fear of them ſeems to have been the circumſtance which occaſioned our engaging in the preſent war—I ſay *our* engaging; for though *France* declared firſt that the two countries were in a ſtate of war, *we* had previouſly committed hoſtilities; namely, we had, at a time when the exportation of corn was profitable to us, and was permitted to other nations, ſtopped it to France, then apprehenſive of famine, contrary to the faith of an expreſs treaty, very beneficial to the Britiſh nation, and for which the Britiſh miniſters had aſſumed and gained both credit and profit by negociating—we had alſo accuſed France of raiſing inſurrections here; and

and when the French ambaſſador demanded an explanation, refuſed it—we paſſed the Alien Bill in violation of the faith of treaties; and laſtly, we ordered the French ambaſſador to quit the country, and voted a war eſtabliſhment. Upon recollection, I needed not to have given this explanation, ſince the miniſter, though he at firſt, in a meſſage from the crown, declared the war, unprovoked by Engliſh government, and ſtoutly denied (when charged with it) any intention of interfering in the internal government of France, has now confeſſed that ſuch is his intention. How different was *our* motive for engaging in this war! *we* loved our own conſtitution, and fought to ſecure it; whereas now, by avowing an intention to deſtroy that of another nation, we have admitted the right of other nations to deſtroy ours! And what elſe have we not done? We have, if report ſays true, taken into pay 100,000 Germans and Hungarians, known ſubjects of a deſpotic government, and of courſe enemies to ours. Theſe may be landed in our country!—Add to this, the nation we are at war with may next year invade us with a larger force.

We have ſeen that the powers who were at firſt principals in the war, ſeem to have given it up—they continue it heartleſsly, although paid by us for fighting their own battles: if they foreſee that by an invaſion we ſhall be diſabled from continuing their ſubſidies, what aid can we expect from them? What reſource then have we, except the people are armed? The French, enemies to every kind of monarchy, and the Germans, enemies to all but a deſpotic one, how are we to preſerve our conſtitution, if the people are not armed to defend it? Whether or no it is intended to bring 100,000 Germans into this country I am ignorant, but I well know that the ſuperiority of our fleet will not diſable the French from

from invading us. Pruſſia, however highly paid, (as we ſhall ſeverely feel when the next taxes are laid on) has already deſerted us! Ruſſia has never aſſiſted us, except in ordering the Turks to make war upon France; this order has not been obeyed, and it is not inforced! Ruſſia and Pruſſia are now engaged in enſlaving Poland. Sweden and Denmark are friendly to France, and may probably unite their fleet to hers. America too, though ſolicitors for peace with us, is certainly friendly to France. How then are we to ſave ourſelves from invaſion, except by the exertions of an armed people? Here then is an obvious and peculiar propriety in exerciſing the right of arming at the preſent time. However, if an act is illegal, its apparent or obvious expediency will not juſtify the committing it: the words "as allowed by law" therefore merit conſideration. Their apparent meaning is "not "by law prohibited"—whatever the law does not prohibit it allows: thus, notwithſtanding the right to keep arms is in the Bill of Rights aſſerted for Proteſtants alone, it was deemed neceſſary at the ſame time to paſs another act for the eſpecial purpoſe of prohibiting Papiſts from ſo doing (ſee 1ſt W. ch. 15. Sec. 2, 3. 24th.) But ſome particular *kinds* of arms may perhaps be prohibited. I have heard this ſaid of air guns, and I think it very proper, ſince they may be converted to illegal uſes, and may be uſed by the concealed aſſaſſin to kill or wound at a diſtance without alarming the eye or ear. But a pike is of all weapons the moſt unſuited to ſuch a purpoſe; as for the charge therefore of intending to compaſs the death of the king with pikes it deſerves no ſerious refutation, it is ſelf-evidently falſe. But we have been told that this conſequence might ultimately reſult from arming the people. You will I truſt beware how you take away the life of a fellow-citizen for doing an act expreſsly warranted

ranted by law, on the bare aſſertion of opinion, unſupported by evidence, and directly contrary to that of our anceſtors who framed the Bill of Rights: they certainly did not think that the exerciſe of thoſe Rights was incompatible with the ſafety of the king. On the contrary, they ſeem calculated to ſecure both his perſon and dignity, and there is good ground to believe that had the Proteſtants been all provided with arms at the commencement of the reign of James the Second, that ill-adviſed prince would not have purſued thoſe meaſures which precipitated him from the throne. Civil commotions and revolutions are not apt to begin on the part of the people; they have ever reſulted, as hiſtory clearly proves, either from the ambition of contending families, or from the deſpotic meaſures of the ruling powers, which the people have in every inſtance long ſubmitted to before they have been rouſed to reſiſtance. The inſurrections in the reign of Richard the Second were preceded by oppreſſion; and though quelled by the death of the ringleaders, that prince perſiſted in his career of tyranny until it concluded by his depoſition and his death. The reign of Henry the Eighth was one ſcene of perſecution paſſively ſubmitted to—ſo was that of Mary. Charles the Firſt continued his ſyſtem of oppreſſion for a long courſe of years before the people oppoſed it with open force. James the Second too remained long unreſiſted in his attempts to enſlave the nation. To prevent any further repetition of theſe evils, the wiſdom of our anceſtors deviſed the Bill of Rights, and eſpecially inſiſted upon and ſtipulated for the right to keep arms to defend thoſe rights. If it is deemed treaſon to defend them, our rulers may annul them at pleaſure: where then is their excellence or our ſafety? Surely it ſhould not be called making war againſt the king to keep arms for to maintain and to reſiſt the deſtruction of that conſtitution,

conſtitution, ſo ſolemnly ſtipulated for, and under ſanction of which his family was elected to the throne. It was not ſo deemed in the year 1782. At that time the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt publickly called upon the people at large to unite their voices for the purpoſe of *compelling* the legiſlature to reform the abuſes in the conſtitution—I ſay of *compelling*.—The Duke's words make this intention ſufficiently evident. Speaking of the neceſſity of a Reform of Parliament, he urges that it ſhould not be a partial but a complete reform, and gives as his reaſon, that one would be as eaſily attained as the other, ſince the Houſe of Commons would equally endeavour to prevent either: his words are, "Not one proſelyte has "been gained from corruption, nor has the leaſt ray of "hope been held out from any quarter that the HOUSE "*of* COMMONS was inclined to adopt any other mode of "reform. The weight of corruption has cruſhed this "more gentle, as it would have done any more effectual "plan in the ſame circumſtances. From THAT QUAR-"TER therefore I have nothing to hope—it is from the "people at large that I expect any good." ‡

Here then is an obvious intention expreſſed, and the people are called upon to controul and to counteract the intentions of the Houſe of Commons, and of thoſe that corrupt it—of the whole legiſlature! Mr. Pitt too united in the call! Their declared object was to reſtore the conſtitution: ſuch it appeared, and ſuch it was believed to be; and far from being deemed a crime, it procured them the confidence both of the people and the ſovereign, and has been their road to offices of the higheſt truſt and profit. The now accuſed, with many others, have profeſſed and appear to have had the ſame object in view;

‡ Duke of Richmond's letter to Col. Sharman.

and

and as of late many meetings for this purpoſe have been forcibly broken up, they have, according to the expreſs letter of the Bill of Rights, provided arms for their defence; arms of a kind utterly unſuited to any ſecret or treaſonable purpoſe. They might alſo probably have it in view to be prepared to reſiſt the invaſion of a foreign enemy. If to endeavour to procure a Reform of Parliament, and to ſave the conſtitution is treaſon, the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt are the ringleaders of this treaſon: they ſet it on foot in all parts of the country.

And is it then the equal juſtice of our law, that the poor and uninformed ſhall ſuffer ignominy and death for following the recommendations publickly iſſued by the great, without their experiencing any ſymptom of the diſpleaſure of government?

But I apprehend I may be told the times are altered: we are now convinced that our anceſtors were miſtaken in forming the Revolution—that paſſive obedience is the duty of the people, and that the Bill of Rights muſt no longer be regarded as a law. I know that the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance of oppreſſion have of late been not only very induſtriouſly circulated, but alſo publickly laid down, in a ſermon preached by the Biſhop of St. David's, before the Houſe of Peers, and for which the Biſhop received the unanimous thanks of that Houſe: but, with regard to the Bill of Rights, it has not *yet* been repealed; and, having been lately ſpoken of by his Majeſty's Attorney-General as the law of the land, and in high terms of panegyric, it muſt ſtill be ſo regarded.

If then the wiſdom of our Legiſlature ſees it neceſſary to annul it, it can be legally done by a public act of Parliament alone. For it is declared, in article the firſt, "That the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or the "execution of laws by *royal* authority, without conſent

"of

" of Parliament, is illegal." And in article the ſecond, " That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or " the execution of laws, by *legal* authority, as it hath " been aſſumed or exerciſed of late, is illegal."

Let not this bill, then, remain as a ſtumbling-block for the unwary, but let it be publickly repealed in legal form: men may then be legally condemned to ignominy and death for keeping defenſive arms. But as yet it continues unrepealed; and hitherto, whatever ſcenes of devaſtation and ſlaughter have been exhibited on the continent and on the ocean,‡ at home the proſecutions for attempting to preſerve the conſtitution have not been marked, have not been (notwithſtanding the attempt in the attack upon Mr. Walker, which Mr. Dundas, the Secretary of State, is proved to have been privy to many months before he was brought to trial and acquitted, upon proof of ſubornation of perjury on the part of the proſecution) conſummated in blood!

Beware how YOU take the lead in ſetting this on foot! The conduct of Watt (the moſt exceptionable of the priſoners) is preciſely, in the point on which he is accuſed, the ſame which Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond ſet on foot, and recommended, to endeavour to obtain by compulſion a parliamentary reform.

Both Mr. Pitt and the Duke have urged the indiſpenſible neceſſity of obtaining it; and THAT IT CAN BE

‡ It was generally underſtood among the fleet when they arrived in port after the 1ſt of June, that our loſs was half as much again as repreſented in the Gazette: it was talked of as 1600 (the Gazette enumerates, I think, about 1100) it is certain we had three admirals wounded in a fleet of 24 ſhips, the other officers killed and wounded is leſs eaſily known: but it is obvious that more attention will be paid to an admiral than an inferior officer, and that the laſt may probably die of a wound that would be trifling to the former.

OBTAINED

OBTAINED BY NO OTHER MEANS. In another particular Watt is in my opinion culpable (I mean that he has changed ſides; but this certainly is not treaſon); though as in his other conduct he has obeyed, in this he has cloſely copied the two illuſtrious characters I laſt named. If he is guilty, they are guilty too. The firſt blood that is ſhed will hardly be the laſt—the injurer never forgives! Robeſpierre, immerſed in gore, was unable to waſh it off;—he could not recede, but ruſhed forward in deſperation; ſo may others do, when the firſt bloody deed is done! Recollect that murders may be committed under the *form* of law:—in thoſe managed by the ever memorable Jefferies, juries were intimidated into being the inſtruments.

But, gentlemen, you have a clear ground to go upon—the Bill of Rights! By this bill, article the eighth, "All "elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free." And article the ſeventh, "Subjects who are Proteſtants "may keep arms for their defence," to preſerve the rights here claimed and "inſiſted upon"—and eſtabliſhed as the condition upon which the throne was made hereditary in the family of our preſent excellent ſovereign. For HIS ſake therefore beware of inflicting an ignominious death upon thoſe whoſe object, both avowed and apparent, is to preſerve this conſtitution—and for YOUR OWN, reflect that while the Bill of Rights yet remains the law of the land, YOU CANNOT WITHOUT PERJURY PRONOUNCE THEM GUILTY.

However, the juries, after receiving the inſtructions of the Lord Preſident, found both the priſoners GUILTY; but on condemning Downie the foreman ſaid, "My Lord, "I am deſired by the jury to ſay, that, on account of cer-"tain circumſtances, they unanimouſly recommend the "priſoner to mercy."

On Saturday, Sept. 6, the Lord Preſident paſſed ſentence upon

upon both priſoners, in as nearly as can be recollected, the following words,

" You, and each of you, priſoners at the bar, are to be " taken from the bar to the place from whence you came; " and from thence to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place " of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, but not " till you are dead: for you are then to be taken down, " and your hearts to be cut out, and your bowels burned " before your face; your heads and limbs ſevered from " your bodies, and held up to public view; and your bo- " dies ſhall remain at the diſpoſal of his majeſty: and the " Lord have mercy on your ſouls."

A correct Copy of the Letter ſent by Mr. Gerrald to Mr. Dundas, in January laſt.

HENRY DUNDAS,

I TAKE my departure for Edinburgh to-morrow evening;—not for the purpoſe of taking my trial; (for trial implies candid examination) but, *as you well know*, for the purpoſe of receiving my ſentence of tranſportation for fourteen years. As *you* ſend to the things called, and in one ſenſe juſtly called, the *criminal* Judges of Scotland, the ſentences which they are to pronounce in all caſes of ſtate proſecution, you may as well make me the bearer of your mandates.—I ſhall punctually tranſmit them, and, what may perhaps ſurpriſe a man of your caſt, though I make the promiſe, ſhall faithfully keep it. The people of Perth, among whom I ſtaid ſome time, are my friends;—for they are the friends of every man who is a friend to his country, and the enemies of none but thoſe who plunder it. Joſeph Gerrald was well received at Perth; Henry Dundas, as you well know, was compelled to quit it, in order to avoid the vengeance f the people.

I was taken out of my bed in the city of Edinburgh, in December laſt, at an early hour of the morning, by five men with clubs in their hands, whoſe practices induced me to think, that they were not the officers, but the violators of juſtice. I was dragged out by them, without the production of any warrant, though I repeatedly demanded to ſee it. My papers were forcibly ſeized in the ſame illegal manner, and the ſtolen effects ſoon to be produced in evidence againſt me, (by a proceſs that would do honour to the Inquiſition) are now in the poſſeſſion of men who owe their ſituations to your patronage.—I now, as an Engliſhman, in whoſe perſon the ſacred rights of his country have been violated, publickly demand of you, Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, and Member for the city of Edinburgh, to avow your ſanction, or to expreſs your diſapprobation of their proceedings.

In vain will you preſerve a ſullen ſilence, or attempt to ſhroud yourſelf under the fancied importance of your ſtation.—I aſk only for a plain, explicit anſwer to my queſtion; of which, at a future time, you may repent the refuſal. Awful leſſons have been lately read to you, that all greatneſs, not founded on virtue, is only the ſlippery precipice of deſtruction.

When I went to Scotland, I expected perſecution from the Government, and protection from the people. I have met, and do ſtill expect to meet with both. But I truſt, that the period is faſt approaching, when neither legal quibbles nor fur gowns will ſhelter the abuſe of delegated authority, and when the people will know, will feel, and will aſſert, that law is only the means, but that juſtice is the end, and that the SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SOVEREIGN LAW At all events, be aſſured, that the ſeverities of the

the Scottiſh criminal judicature ſhall be exceeded, if poſſible, by the firmneſs with which I will encounter them.

JOSEPH GERRALD.

A NEW SONG,

Appointed to be ſung in all Streets and Alehouſes, through the Kingdoms of Great Britain, France, *Ireland, and* Corſica.

I.

SONS of John Bull attend,
'Tis a well-meaning friend
Leſſons doth bring,
How you all ills may 'ſcape,
Of every form or ſhape,
So you but ſing, but ſcrape
God Save the King.

II.

If with diſeaſe oppreſt,
Or by dull cares diſtreſt,
You need but ſing;
Soon all your pains will fly,
Each weeping eye be dry,
Join but the full-mouth'd cry,
God Save the King.

III.

If nought but rags alone
Cover your ſkin and bone,
Let your voice ring;
Then fear not cold or rain,
All other care is vain,
Sing but this ſacred ſtrain,
God Save the King.

IV.

When times, like theſe, are bad,
And food's not to be had,
Still you muſt ſing;
No hunger then you'll feel;
Better 'tis than beef or veal,
To ſound this noble peal,
God Save the King.

V.

Placemen, contractors too,
Courtiers, that motley crew,
Together cling;
So join ye people all,
And wait each tyrant's call;
In reward you may bawl,
God Save the King.

VI.

Some talk of RIGHTS OF MAN,
But in our rulers plan
There's no ſuch thing.
Rights are for each titled knave,
Poor men no rights can have
But to chaunt this noble ſtave,
God Save the King.

CHORUS (*to each verſe.*)

It is moſt notorious
We're happy and glorious;
May *we* prove victorious,
And Great Rogues ſwing.

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HANOVERIAN HUMANITY.

[*From the Appendix to Mr. Howard's* ACCOUNT OF LAZARETTOS, &c.]

"OSNABURGH. I have formerly mentioned, that the *mode* of torture here is more excruciating than in moſt other countries, and is known by the name of the *Oſnaburgh torture*, and this has ſtill been *improved* upon by a conſeiller from Paderborn.†

"HANOVER.

† "BRUNSWICK. Though the torture is not aboliſhed, I had the pleaſure to hear that the laſt inſtance of a perſon ſuffering it was about eighteen years ago. I ſaw all the remaining engines of torture, which are kept at the executioner's houſe. He ſeemed with pleaſure to ſhew the mode of application on the firſt, ſecond, and laſt queſtion; and very readily anſwered any enquiries, having

" HANOVER. I alſo, in my laſt publication, ſaid, that the execrable practice of torturing priſoners is here uſed. I am ſorry to ſay it is not aboliſhed.

" In October 1781, I had the honor to wait on his Royal Highneſs the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh,† in the caſtle. I then informed him, that his executioner had lately been brought hither to inflict the Oſnaburgh torture on a criminal. His Royal Highneſs deſired ſome deſcription of it: the cruel mode ſtruck his Highneſs; and I then referred him to the judge, who was preſent, adding, that in this tour I had been in Sweden, where, by a late good and popular act of the king, *torture* was aboliſhed, and that the door into that cellar in the priſon at Stockholm was ordered to be cloſed and bricked up."‖

having been ſeveral years in that occupation at Hanover; though here (he ſaid) he had only beheaded four or five. On aſking if nothing was put into the tortured perſon's mouth, as I had in ſome places ſeen, he replied, 'No; the Oſnaburgh executioner thinks they ſuffer leſs;' and on his deſcribing ſome of the modes of torture (which the wit of devils and men had invented), he ſaid, " Sir, the Oſnaburgh torture is ſtill ruder."

† Frederic Duke of York.

‖ What ſucceſs this application was attended with appears from the following note.

" Have I not often reaſon, with a ſigh, to ſay, 'I labour in vain, and ſpend my ſtrength for nought?' But I have reſolved, by the help of God, to give myſelf wholly to this work. Engliſhmen, who are not obſerved to ſympathiſe much with the ſufferings of foreigners, will congratulate themſelves, at leaſt, that this diabolical 'engine of ſtate,' as Judge Blackſtone calls it, was become obſolete in their own country before the acceſſion of the preſent illuſtrious family."

The

The firſt Voyages of the Engliſh to the Eaſt-Indies.

THE ſucceſs of theſe voyages was ſufficient to determine the moſt able merchants of London to eſtabliſh a company in the year 1600, which obtained an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt-Indies. The act which granted this privilege fixed it for fifteen years; it declared, that if it ſhould prove injurious to the ſtate, it ſhould be annulled, and the company ſuppreſſed, by giving two years previous notice to its members.

This clauſe of reſerve aroſe from the diſpleaſure the Commons had lately ſhewn on account of a grant, the novelty of which might poſſibly offend them. The queen had returned to the Houſe, and had ſpoken on this occaſion in a manner worthy to ſerve as a leſſon to all ſovereigns.

"Gentlemen," ſaid ſhe to the members of the Houſe commiſſioned to return her thanks, "I am extremely ſenſible of your attachment, and of the care you have taken to give me an authentic teſtimony of it. This affection for my perſon had determined you to appriſe me of a fault I had inadvertently fallen into from ignorance, but in which my will had no ſhare. If your vigilance had not diſcovered to me the miſchiefs which my miſtake might have produced, what pain ſhould I not have felt—I, who have nothing dearer to me than the affection and preſervation of my people! May my hand ſuddenly wither, may my heart be ſtruck at once with a deadly blow, before I ſhall ever grant particular privileges that my ſubjects may have reaſon to complain of! The ſplendor of the throne has not ſo far dazzled my eyes, that I ſhould

prefer

prefer the abuſe of an unbounded authority to the uſe of a power exerciſed by juſtice. The brilliancy of royalty blinds only thoſe princes who are ignorant of the duties that the crown impoſes. I dare believe that I ſhall not be ranked among ſuch monarchs. I know that I hold not the ſceptre for my own proper advantage, and that I am entirely devoted to the ſociety which has put its confidence in me. It is my happineſs to ſee that the ſtate has hitherto proſpered under my government, and that my ſubjects are worthy that I ſhould yield up my crown and my life for their ſakes. Impute not to me the improper meaſures I may be engaged in, nor the irregularities which may be committed under the ſanction of my name. You know that the miniſters of princes are too often guided by private intereſts, that ſeldom reach the ears of kings, and that, obliged as they are from the multiplicity of affairs they are laden with, to fix their attention on thoſe which are of the greateſt importance, it is impoſſible they ſhould ſee every thing with their own eyes."

From the peruſal of this wiſe ſpeech we ſhould be inclined to believe that an abſolute monarch, who is juſt, ſteady, and enlightened, would be the beſt of princes; but, on the other hand, we ſhould conſider, that if this reign were to be laſting, the people would neglect the aſſertion of thoſe rights of which they have no occaſion to avail themſelves; and that nothing could be more fatal to them than the continuation of this lethargy, under a reign ſimilar to the firſt, unleſs it be the prolongation of it under a third.

Nations ſometimes make attempts to deliver themſelves from an oppreſſion impoſed by violence, but never ſtrive to ſet themſelves free from a ſtate of ſlavery into which they have been led by mild proceedings. Sooner

or

or later a tyrant, either weak-minded, or cruel, or devoid of underſtanding, will ſucceed to the management of an abſolute power which has never been oppoſed. The people who are the victims of this deſpotiſm, think they are deſtined to be ſo. They have loſt the ſenſe of liberty, which can only be maintained by pepetual exertion. Perhaps, had the Engliſh been governed by three ſucceſſive ſovereigns ſimilar to Elizabeth, they would have been the moſt abject of all ſlaves.

The following remarkable Paſſage is taken out of Roſſeau's Engliſh Edition of Emilius and Sophia, or a New Syſtem of Education, publiſhed ſo long ſince as the Year 1779, *vol.* 2. *page* 74.

REPROBATING the then prevailing ſyſtem of education, he ſays; "You make a dependence on the actual order of ſociety, without thinking that order ſubject to UNAVOIDABLE REVOLUTIONS, and that it is impoſſible to foreſee or PREVENT that which may affect your children. *The high may be reduced low, and the rich may become poor, and* EVEN THE MONARCH DWINDLE INTO A SUBJECT. Are theſe changes of fortune ſo unfrequent that you can flatter yourſelf that your pupil will be exempt from them? *We* CERTAINLY *are approaching the criſis of Human Eſtabliſhments,* THE AGE OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS."

And in a note upon the above paſſage he ſpeaks in ſtill plainer language; for he ſays,

"I HOLD IT IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE GREAT MONARCHIES OF EUROPE CAN SUBSIST MUCH LONGER;

LONGER; they all affect magnificence and ſplendor. *Every ſtate that doth this is upon the decline.* I could give *very particular and cogent reaſons for this aſſertion;* but it may not be proper; and indeed they are but too obvious."

The prophetic ſpirit of the above paſſage, already in part fulfilled in the inſtance of France, may ſerve as a hint of the contents of the work attributed to Roſſeau, and lately mentioned in the French Convention by Gregoire, as having been found ſealed up with this ſuperſcription in Roſſeau's hand-writing;

"Not to be opened until the year 1800!"

A work which the world muſt look for with moſt anxious expectation.

ANECDOTES OF DESPOTISM.

DESPOTISM, or Arbitrary Power, naturally tends to make a man a bad ſovereign, who might poſſibly have been a good one, had he been inveſted with an authority circumſcribed by laws. None can doubt of this tendency in arbitrary power, who conſider, that it fills the mind of man with great and unreaſonable conceits of himſelf; raiſes him into a belief that *he is* of a ſpecies *far* ſuperior to his ſubjects; extinguiſhes in him the principle of fear, which is one of the greateſt motives to all duties; and creates an ambition of magnifying himſelf, by the exertion of ſuch a power in all its inſtances.

One of the moſt arbitrary princes that ever lived was Muley Iſhmael, Emperor of Morocco, who, after a long reign,

reign, died in the year 1714. He was a deſcendant of Mahomet, and ſo exemplary for his adherence to the law of his prophet, that he abſtained all his life from the taſte of wine, and, that he might not want opportunities of kneeling, had fixed in all the ſpacious courts of his palace, large *conſecrated* ſtones pointing towards the Eaſt, for any occaſional exerciſe of his devotion. What might not have been hoped from a prince of theſe endowments, had they not all been rendered uſeleſs to the good of his people by the notion of that power which they aſcribed to him.

Foreign envoys have deſcribed this holy man mounted on horſeback in an open court, with ſeveral of his alcaydes, or governors of provinces, about him, ſtanding barefoot, trembling, bowing to the earth, and at every word he ſpoke, breaking into exclamations of praiſe, as "Great is the wiſdom of our *Lord the King;* he ſpeaks as an *angel* from heaven." *Happy* the man among them who was ſo much a favorite as to be ſent on an errand to the moſt remote ſtreet in the capital, which he performed with the greateſt alacrity, ran through every puddle that laid in his way, and took care to return out of breath and covered with dirt, that he might ſhew himſelf a diligent and *faithful miniſter*. His Majeſty, at the ſame time, to *exhibit* the greatneſs of his power, and ſhew his horſemanſhip, ſeldom diſmiſſed the foreign envoy from his audience, till he had *entertained* him with the ſlaughter of *two* or *three* of his liege ſubjects, whom he very *dexterouſly* put to death with the tilt of his lance. One ambaſſador he received in robes juſt ſtained with an execution, and blooded up to his elbows by a couple of Moors, whom he had been *butchering* with his own *imperial hands*.

The

The authors who have given an account of his exploits, have calculated, that by his *own* arm he had killed above 40,000 of his people. To render himſelf the more awful, he would wear a garb of a particular colour when he was *bent* upon *execution;* ſo that when he appeared in yellow, the great men hid themſelves in corners, and durſt not pay their *court* to him, till he had ſatiated his *thirſt* of *blood* by the death of ſome of his *loyal* commoners, or of ſome ſuch *unwary* officers of *ſtate* as chanced to come in his way. On this account, the firſt news enquired after every morning at Mequinez was, whether the Emperor was ſtirring, and in a *good* or a *bad* humour.

As he was a great lover of architecture, and employed many thouſands in his buildings, if he did not approve of the plan or the performance, it was uſual for him to ſhew the delicacy of his taſte by demoliſhing the building, and putting to death all who had a hand in it.

One inſtance of his *mercy*, however, was ſhewn to the maſter of an Engliſh veſſel. This man preſented him with a curious hatchet, which he received very graciouſly, and then aſking him whether it had a good edge, he tried it upon the donor, who ſlipping aſide from the blow, he eſcaped with the loſs *only* of his right ear; for old Muley, upon ſecond thoughts, conſidering that it was not one of his own *ſubjects*, ſtopped his hand, and would not *ſend* him to paradiſe.

Of one of his queens he was remarkably fond; and a favorite prime miniſter was alſo very dear to him. The firſt died of a kick from her *lord* the *king*, when ſhe was pregnant, for having gathered a *flower* as ſhe was walking with him in his pleaſure-garden. The other was baſtinadoed to death by his Majeſty; who, *repenting* of the drubs he had given him, when it was *too late*, to manifeſt

his

his *eſteem* for the memory of ſo *worthy* a man, executed the ſurgeon that could not cure him.

This abſolute Monarch was as notable a *guardian* of the *fortunes* as of the *lives* of his ſubjects. When any one grew rich, in order to keep him from being *dangerous* to the ſtate, he uſed to ſend for all his goods and chattels. His governors of towns and provinces, who formed *themſelves* upon the example of their *Grand Monarque*, practiſed *rapine*, *violence*, *extortion*, and all the art of *deſpotic* government, that they might the better ſend him their yearly *preſents*: for the greateſt of his viceroys was in danger of being recalled, or *hanged*, if he did not remit the bulk of his *plunder* to his dread ſovereign. That he might make a right uſe of theſe *prodigious treaſures*, he took care to bury them under ground, by the hands of his *moſt truſty ſlaves*, and then *cut* their throats, as the moſt *effectual* method of ſecuring ſecrecy.

The following ſtory will illuſtrate his notions of property. Being upon the road one day, amid his life-guards, a little before the time of the ram-feaſt, he met one of his alcaydes at the head of his ſervants, who were driving a great flock of ſheep to market. The Emperor aſked whoſe they were. The alcayde, with profound *ſubmiſſion*, anſwered, 'They are mine, O Iſhmael, ſon of Elcheriff.'—'Thine, thou ſon of a cuckold!' ſaid *this ſervant of the Lord*; 'I thought I had been the *only* proprietor in this country.' Upon which he ran him through the *body* with his lance, and very *piouſly* diſtributed the ſheep among his guards, for the celebration of the feaſt.

This determination of *juſtice* between man and man, will evince the *bleſsings* of his adminiſtration: an alcayde complaining to him of a wife, (whom he had received from his majeſty's hands, and therefore could not divorce,)

vorce,) that ſhe uſed to pull him by the beard, the Emperor ordered his beard to be plucked up by the *roots*, that he *might not* be liable to any more ſuch affronts.

A farmer having accuſed ſome of his guards of having robbed him of a drove of oxen, the Emperor *readily* ſhot the offenders, but afterwards demanding reparation of the accuſer, for the loſs of ſo many brave fellows, and finding him inſolvent, he compounded the matter with him by taking away his life.

Such was the government of Muley Iſhmael, 'the *ſervant* of God, the Emperor of the *faithful*, who was courageous in the *way* of the Lord, the *noble*, the *good*.'

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

By inſerting the following amongſt your valuable Leſſons for the Swiniſh Multitude, you will oblige

A LOVER OF LIBERTY.

The Engliſhman's Dream.

A Worthy Engliſhman, in the fifth month of the year 1794, had the good fortune to fall into a ſound ſleep, and during its continuance to be viſited by a variety of pleaſing images. He dreamed that, while the reſt of the world was deſolated by war and faction, the governors of our own happy land, depending on its inſular ſituation, abſtained from mixing in the mad buſineſs of the Continent, and employed themſelves ſolely in teaching the nation to defend and enjoy its liberty, by en-

cou-

couraging the uſe of arms, and diffuſing knowledge among all ranks of people.

He dreamed that his country, in the enjoyment of this wiſe neutrality, was courted and envied by all ſurrounding nations, that her manufacturers were employed, and that her ſhipping, in danger of meeting with ſtorms alone, ſailed without fear or convoy to every quarter of the globe.

He dreamed that, while the reſt of Europe lay trampled under foot by tyranny, his dear country was perfectly free, that the Houſe of Repreſentatives, freely elected according to ancient and poſitive laws, and uninfluenced by the other branches of the legiſlature, againſt whoſe encroachments they were meant to protect the intereſt of the nation at large, had no private views of advantage, and paſſed no bills to prevent the people from claiming a reſtitution of their rights.

He dreamed that the governors of the land, having uſurped no exceſſive powers, privileges or pecuniary advantages, had no intereſt in keeping their places by corruption or intrigue; that being only the faithful ſervants and ſtewards of the public, and conſcious of doing their duty, they could feel no neceſſity for paying ſpies or informers, a race of men the moſt deſtructive to ſocial happineſs.

He dreamed that none of the opulent rioted in inſulting and unfeeling luxury, while thoſe to whoſe painful efforts they were indebted for every comfort and enjoyment, were pining in want of the common neceſſaries of life.

He dreamed that England, being a free country, all Engliſhmen might, without fear of perſecution, deliver their opinions freely of men and things, that they might declare what ſpecies of government pleaſed them beſt,

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inveſtigate the abuſes that had crept into the conſtitution, and meet together peaceably to deviſe the beſt means of bringing about a reform.

He dreamed that the laws, protective of the ſubject, being in full vigour, no man was in danger, as in deſpotic countries, of being arbitrarily ſnatched from the boſom of his family, and thrown into a dungeon, to gratify the vengeance, or perpetuate the power of a perverſe miniſter.

He dreamed that there were no unworthy ſenators who, wiſhing to ſacrifice the intereſt and deareſt rights of their conſtituents to their fears or their ſtupidity, called for the introduction of arbitrary and oppreſſive laws, to deprive the people even of the right of complaining.

The Engliſhman dreamed all this, and lo, he awoke!

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

SEEING the great diſtreſs which reigns amongſt the people, ſuch as ſhopkeepers and poor mechanics, I think it my duty, as an Engliſhman, to ſtep forward for redreſs.

Mr. P-tt's faithful penſioners tell him, 'Oh, the times are very flouriſhing; that trade never was better; that the people are very loyal;' but let Mr. P-tt go into the trading and manufacturing towns, and ſee the diſtreſs that reigns there:—there the poor are ſtarving through this war. Let him conſider the alarming emigrations to America, that flouriſhing ſtate. Then may he look and ſhudder, when, no longer able to bear the burdens, they ſhall riſe and declare againſt him:—then will it be too late to make conceſſions to an enraged people. Let him

make

make peace; that will be the only way to appeaſe the people, and ſecure his perſon:—but all remonſtrances are vain; he will not hear them.

Then they call this a free country. But, tell me what it conſiſts in? Is it in kidnapping people? Why, yes! They have protected kidnappers, and I can prove it. Does Mr. P-tt think that the people will bear it much longer?——But, what ſignifies complaining?

I found the following in a newſpaper; the inſertion of which in your Repoſitory will oblige

Yours, &c.

A DEMOCRAT.

PLAYS	SUBSCRIBED TO
The Farmer	His Majeſty
The Miſer	Madam Schwellenbergen
The Prodigal	His Royal H——
The Way to Keep Him	Mrs. Fitzherbert
Henry V. or the Conqueſt of France	D—— of York
The Mock Patriot,	The D—— of Richmond
The Poſitive Man	Rt. Hon. Mr. P-tt
The Hypocrite	Rt. Hon. Mr. B—ke
Man of the World	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas
All in the Wrong	M——s of the H— of L——s
Every One has his Fault	M——s of the H— of C——s
Venice Preſerved, or the Pikes diſcovered	Committee of Secreſy
Buſy Body	Paul Le Meſurier, Eſq.
Committee of Faithful Penſioners	John Reeves, Eſq.
How to Grow Rich	The Borough Mongers
Who's the Dupe	John Bull, Eſq.

A FAVORITE SONG.

THE Pow'r that created the night and the day,
Gave his image divine to each model of clay ;
Tho' on different features the God be impreſs'd,
One ſpirit immortal pervades ev'ry breaſt.
And Nature's great charter the right never gave,
That one mortal another ſhould dare to enſlave.

The ſame genial rays that the lily unfold
Give the roſe its full fragrance, the tulip its gold ;
That Europe's fond boſoms to rapture inſpire,
Warm each African breaſt with as gen'rous a fire.
And Nature's, &c.

May the head be corrected, ſubdued the proud ſoul,
That would fetter free limbs, and free ſpirits controul !
Be the gem or in ebon or iv'ry enſhrin'd,
The ſame form of heart warms the whole humankind.
And Nature's, &c.

May Freedom, whoſe rays we are taught to adore,
Beam bright as the ſun, and bleſs every ſhore ;
No charter that pleads for the rights of mankind,
To inveſt *theſe* with gold, *thoſe* in fetters can bind.
For Nature's, &c.

On Parties.

BOTH make the public good their plea,
The end of all their wiſhes ;
With half an eye a man may ſee
Both want the loaves and fiſhes.

THE TIMES.

FRAUD and Oppreſſion, hand in hand,
Stalk through and prey upon the land;
Succeſſive vermin bite and waſte
Each morſel ere the poor can taſte.
Aloud to heaven for vengeance cries
Its vile, accurſt monopolies.
In vain benignant Nature pours
Her vaſt immeaſurable ſtores;
Av'rice defeats her bleſt deſign,
And ſtrange, controuls the Will Divine.
O how ador'd would be the hand
That from this hydra freed the land!
Have not her boaſted laws the power?
Muſt ſtill the inſatiate peſt devour?
O ye, in whom we truſt repoſe,
Ariſe, defend us from our foes;
If long ſupine you heedleſs lie,
And not for our deliverance try,
Yourſelves among the reſt may fall,
And ruin overwhelm us all.

EPIGRAM.

SUBDUE the French—nay, ſooner ſtop the ocean,
And bind the waves when in their wild commotion!
To you, that wiſh to know the reaſon why,
I make this little, but this true reply,
The cauſe is God's—by Him it is decreed
That France from Pope and ſlavery ſhall be freed.

ON ABUSES.

THOUGH plenty yearly fills her horn
With milk and honey, wine and corn,
It nought avails the ſons of need,
'Tis only that th'*Elect* may feed.
They, while it pleaſe them, may devour
The honey, wine, and oil, and flour,
The reprobated ſwiniſh clan
Were only made to chew the bran;
For fit it is ſuch vulgar tuſks
Should grub away among the huſks.
Ye prodigals of wealth and power,
Who think far off th' evil hour,
When ſwarming locuſts, fatal bands,
Have famine ſpread through all the lands,
You then in vain may think to dine
Among the grunting angry ſwine.
But think you they would ſo befriend you,
No, they'd ſurely turn and rend you.
Should *Old Nick* put it in their head
(As once he did, 'tis ſomewhere ſaid,)
To take a gallop down the ſteep,
And headlong plunge into the deep;
What with their keepers would they do,
Why, tumble them down headlong too:
But if they would redreſs our wrongs,
Thouſands and thouſands porkers tongues
Would ſcream and grunt, and yell, and cry,
And raiſe their praiſes to the ſky;
They ſtill might *plenty* have and *eaſe*,
We want not PEARLS, we aſk but PEASE.

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1794.

LIBERTY,

NATURAL—CIVIL—POLITICAL.

TO DO WHAT WE WILL, IS NATURAL LIBERTY. TO DO WHAT WE WILL, CONSISTENTLY WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY TO WHICH WE BELONG, IS CIVIL LIBERTY.

MANY of the rights of nature are vaſtly ſuperior to any claims of the ſocial union—rights which the individual cannot *cede*, nor the ſociety *accept*. In this claſs are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind; the free uſe of our faculties in diſtinguiſhing truth from falſehood. Religion is one of theſe rights. Such alſo is the right of inveſtigating principles of government, of ſhewing the errors and excellencies of different ſyſtems, of canvaſſing all the public meaſures of the ſociety in which

which we reſide, of propoſing alterations, or recommending eſtabliſhments. Any individual conceiving an *entire renovation* of ſociety to be deſirable, has the ſame right to propoſe it as one man has to adviſe another to alter the nature of his property, to turn his land into money, or his money into land. The right of reſiſting oppreſſion is alſo inalienable. Such rights man brings with him into ſociety, and any attempt to prevent his exerciſe of them is downright *deſpotiſm*.

CIVIL LIBERTY conſiſts in the perfect *ſecurity* of perſon and property, by the due execution of *general* and *equal* laws, and is no other than *natural liberty* ſo far reſtrained by legal inſtitutes (and no further) as is neceſſary for the general good. It implies that man retains all thoſe natural rights, which he was able to ſupport without the aſſiſtance of the ſocial union, throwing thoſe only into the common ſtock, as a member of ſociety, which, as an unſupported individual, he could not always aſſert. The laws of a free people impoſe no reſtraints upon the private will of the ſubject, which do not conduce in a greater degree to the public happineſs.—It is not the *rigor*, but the *inexpediency*, of laws, which renders them tyrannical.

This liberty may be enjoyed under every *form* of government.

As the civil rights of man ariſe entirely from the ſocial union, they muſt be bounded by the laws of that ſociety of which he is a member; but thoſe laws muſt expreſs the *general will*, be adminiſtered for the general good, bearing equally (as far as it is poſſible) on the whole community. All excluſive rights, offices and privileges, are a ſpecies of tyranny, and as naturally tend to the convul-

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ſion and ruin of the ſocial union, as diſeaſe tends to the deſtruction of the human frame.

Civil rights are *mutual claims* which all the members of ſociety have on each other, by virtue of their union, to protect and ſecure their *natural rights*. Every man is a proprietor in ſociety, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

Thus *civil liberty* relates to the common intercourſe of citizens;—but there is another, and much more important, kind of liberty, too generally confounded with this, *viz.*

POLITICAL LIBERTY, which is the juſt relation of the people to their rulers.

This is the great hinge of human happineſs—the ſole *ſecurity* of man for the enjoyments of ſocial life. In almoſt every age and country, the *government* has been the principal *grievance* of the people, as appears too dreadfully manifeſt from the bloody and deformed page of hiſtory. No man can therefore be too anxious to underſtand the diſtinct authorities of the governors and the governed.

In the thirteenth century there was ſcarce an abſolute prince in Europe: at preſent, where do we ſee any other? And the free conſtitutions have all been gradually deſtroyed, by loſing ſight of this eſſential diſcrimination,—*by blending civil with political principles*. It was the due obedience to this diſtinction that America juſtly demanded. She poſſeſſed, indeed, the ſame portion of *civil liberty* as England; but her further claim, as a *neceſſary ſurety* for this, was a rational degree of *political liberty*,—a right to inſpect the conduct of her own ſervants, and to controul the expenditure of her own money.

Poli-

Politics muſt demand the privilege and advantage of general *principles* allowed to other ſciences. Thus, and thus only, can this ſcience be reaſoned upon to any valid concluſion. Politicians commonly ſtate *facts* for *principles*—lay down what is, or has been, in lieu of what ought to be. This is the caſe eſpecially with Monteſquieu, Blackſtone, De Lolme, and others, who aſſert the Britiſh Parliament to be omnipotent, becauſe it has *aſſumed* omnipotency.

One of the firſt of theſe principles is, that the legiſlative and executive powers are the *inſtruments*, not the *arbiters*, of liberty. And theſe ſhould ever be kept perfectly ſeparate. King, Lords, and Commons, are nothing—poſſeſs no ſovereign power, but from the will of the people. But, as *civil* and *political liberty*, ſo alſo *conſtitutions* and *governments*, are fraudfully confounded. This is the peculiar practice of paraſite lawyers, who, in direct contradiction to our political hiſtory, contend that a diſaffection to government (*i. e.* to the meaſures of miniſters, however corrupt) is a diſaffection to the king and conſtitution. As, in Charles the Firſt's time, the friends of liberty were pronounced *Puritans*, and the adherents of Sir Robert Walpole called the oppoſers of that arch-corrupter *diſaffected*, ſo it is at preſent. Upon every remonſtrance againſt miſgovernment, the court-ſycophants cry out—"Treaſon! Sedition! The crown is aimed at! The "nation is ruined!"—While nobody but themſelves has the leaſt thought of hurting the king, or of ruining any thing, but that abuſe of power, which, if let alone, will ruin the nation. They are perpetually inſulting us with their *legal* authority, but avoid all mention of *conſtitutional* authority; though the firſt exiſts only by permiſſion of the latter. A chief juſtice is juſt now *bold* enough to tell

us,

us, that for the people to convene and conſult, reſpecting the future powers to be conferred on their repreſentatives, *without the permiſsion of thoſe now filling that office*, is not only an *uſurpation* of power, but is alſo *High Treaſon*, an *encompaſsing of the death of the king!!!*

When men once quit the direct road of principle, there is no path, however narrow, crooked, and devious, that they will not wander into. To treat this man technically, let us put a caſe.——The people's delegates abuſe their truſt:—what remedy remains with the people? Some remedy, either legal or conſtitutional, they muſt be entitled to. It is not only a violation of the honeſt fundamentals of government, but the height of abſurdity, to ſay, that the ſocial compact, under which redreſs is provided for every private wrong, can deſign none for thoſe of the public. He knows that, under Magna Charta, and its numerous confirmations, it is not only *conſtitutional*, but *legal*, for the ſubject to riſe againſt and diſtrain the monarch to the utmoſt, if he violates the conditions therein agreed to. And muſt the people, who may avowedly, in certain caſes, oppoſe their king, on no account attempt to curtail the abuſed powers of their legiſlators? Oh, inſult to the ancient ſpirit of Britons! Oh, baſe attempt to extinguiſh the ſpark of immortal reaſon!

Every juſt government is the creature of a conſtitution, which is the original ſupreme act of a general convention of the people, or their delegates, antecedent to all laws. Government, without a conſtitution, is power without right. A conſtitution is the body of elemental principles, on which the government ſhall be eſtabliſhed, dictating the manner of its organization, and the nature, degree, and duration of the authority it ſhall enjoy. Thus, in eſtabliſhing a club, or any ſociety, the authors of it firſt

draw

draw up a number of articles, which are its conſtitution. Among theſe the powers of its ſeveral officers are always defined; nor can any ſuch officer alter or exceed thoſe powers. This is moſt clearly demonſtrated in the late inſtance of the Houſe of Commons deputing from their body certain members, as a committee, to conduct the impeachment of Warren Haſtings. Mr. Burke, one of theſe delegates, ſpurred by the *chivalrous ſpirit of gallant daring*, was thought to paſs the limits of his authority; the Houſe heſitated not a day to call him to account for ſo doing. And will this Houſe ever attempt to deny a right which itſelf has recognized and aſſerted?

Thus, alſo, the maker of a clock lays down certain poſitive laws to direct its movements; as, that the hands ſhall deſcribe a given ſpace in a given time; and while the works obey this eſſential rule, the machine anſwers his purpoſe; but, if they cannot be made conformable to ſuch direction, he breaks them up, being of no value in his given deſign. As a court of juſtice acts under the controul of the laws, ſo muſt a government be controuled by its conſtituent powers.

We hear of many nations without ſovereigns, or rulers; but, who ever heard of a ſovereign without a nation? It is admitted, that the people are the materials, and their good the end, of all government. The people, then, are the only ſource of ſovereignty; nor can any man claim any portion of authority which is not expreſsly derived from hence. The true and natural foundations of ſociety are the wants and fears of individuals. The original compact, therefore, implied in the very act of aſſociating, is, that the whole ſhall protect all its parts, and that *every part ſhall be obedient to the will of the whole.* Individuals, each in his own perſonal and

ſove-

ſovereign right, muſt be conſidered as having engaged with each other to eſtabliſh a government: this is the only ſound origin of governments,—the broad fundamental principle on which alone they can obtain any rational exiſtence. Hence we deduce this concluſion,—every officer, from the conſtable to the chief magiſtrate, is the ſervant of the community.

The juſt power exerciſed over a nation muſt ariſe from delegation. But all delegated power is merely a *truſt*, which can bear in itſelf no *rights*; its peculiar properties are altogether *duties*: the people are at the expence of ſupporting it, not for the benefit of their rulers, but of themſelves; to promote the intereſts of the community, not thoſe of individuals. Governors are therefore to *execute*, not *oppoſe*, the public will. That government, in which the will of the people at large is not conſulted, is an unnatural monſter: it is a head diſregarding the body and members, devouring thoſe it ought to nouriſh. It is an eſtabliſhed maxim in free ſtates, which even the courtly Blackſtone aſſents to, that every man is his own legiſlator. To be *free*, is to be guided by ones own will: to be guided by the will of others, is *ſervitude*. The conſent of the great body of the people is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to every law by which that body is to be bound; otherwiſe the people are ſlaves to thoſe who frame the laws for them;—the whole is declared of leſs value than a part.

It is not Mr. Paine alone, (indeed there is nothing *new* in Mr. Paine's *Rights of Man*,) but the immortal genius of Sidney, Locke, Milton, Harrington, &c. that founds the great leading political principles upon the natural equality of mankind. And theſe principles are immoveable. No man can have any natural inherent right to rule more than another: rational dominion therefore muſt be referred to the conſent of the people. But, as the natural equality

ity of every generation is the ſame, the people have always the ſame right to new-model their government, and ſet aſide their rulers. A government which oppoſes the majority of the people is a *tyranny*. Government may remonſtrate againſt apparently dangerous demands; but if the people perſiſt, all public officers, being nothing more than executors of the public will, muſt either reſign or obey. On the other hand, all public officers, as they repreſent the majeſty of the ſtate, muſt be obeyed: we may expoſe their vices, or exhibit their incapacity, but they can only be reſiſted or removed by a manifeſt majority of the people. Thus alſo the defects of laws may be pointed out, or their impolicy held up to public cenſure; yet, however juſtly zealous we are to procure their repeal, while they are in force they demand our obedience. An individual, or partial oppoſition of the magiſtrate, or the law, whatever our founded opinion of either, is no leſs than rebellion: the general will muſt beſtow, and the general will alone can ſuſpend, their authority.

In ſhort, *political liberty* is the reſult of a power in the whole maſs of the people, reſpecting their government, analogous to that of a lord paramount, when he has delegated officers for the adminiſtration of his affairs; which power does not imply any interference or direction in official actions, but a faculty of confining all delegated powers to their proper employments, of requiring juſt accounts, or of correcting abuſes. And, as government is wholly dependent on the will of the governed, no ſociety can enjoy permanent freedom, proſperity, and happineſs, which is not formed *eaſily to exp eſs its will or exert its force*, to preſerve all delegated powers within their limits. No ſociety can indeed be *free*, that poſſeſſes not this capacity; for the point is not merely whether the

people

people are actually groaning under daily oppreſſions, and expiring by hundreds in the hands of tormentors, but whether their freedom is *ſecured*. And this depends ſolely upon the reſerved and ready authority of the people. Acknowledge the non-exiſtence of this mound between dominion and liberty, and no one can ſay how ſoon deſpotiſm, like a deluge, may ruſh in and ſweep all before it. "Not only is that govenment tyrannical which is tyrannically adminiſtered (ſays the Scotch patriot, Fletcher), but every government is tyrannical, which has not a ſufficient *guard* againſt its being ſo adminiſtered.

Civil liberty allows the requiſite rights of human nature; but where the whole body of a nation is not ſo arranged, or organized, as to produce a general ſenſibility, life, will, and prompt exertion, ſuch as we perceive in the natural body,—which can only reſult from a fair, full, and frequent repreſentation of the people—Civil liberty *can* have no continuance, becauſe its great guarantee, *Political Liberty*, does not exiſt.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

I HAVE lately been in many companies where the law of TREASON has been the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and have heard many opinions on the ſubject, without collecting any certain information. Some have quoted the acts of parliament 25th Edward III. and 1 Mary, ſ. 1. c. 1. to prove that it did not conſiſt in, &c. &c. &c. but theſe were contradicted, and clearly confuted, by producing the late deciſions of Judges.

Some

Some again ſaid, that "*treaſon*" was in Engliſh the ſame as "*trahiſon*" in French; and that as this laſt was derived from "*trahir*," "to betray," ſo its true meaning was "treachery." But in this inſtance it is needleſs to reſort to argument; for it is very clear, and has been evinced in practice, that even kings do ſometimes act with treachery. Now we all agree, as the Britiſh conſtitution declares, that a king can do no wrong, he cannot then act TREASON, which is puniſhed as the moſt heinous of crimes—*by ripping open of bellies and tearing out of bowels.* Treachery, then, certainly is not treaſon!

Beſides, if treachery was treaſon, Dunn, the witneſs againſt Mr. Walker; Taylor, the crimp, who went to Scotland to ſwear that a certain letter was written by Hardy, and who is now concealed becauſe a warrant is out to apprehend him for bigamy or perjury, or both;—and the ſtill more famous Upton, firſt a leader in the riots of 1780, then an incendiary, next a horſe-ſtealer, then the contriver and beſpeaker of an inſtrument for compaſſing the death of the King, (and which the name of Mr. Mortimer the gunſmith is brought forward to prove to be likely to effect that end;)—and laſtly,—the informer that ſuch an inſtrument was made;—with a long liſt of ſimilar characters, and of thoſe who being engaged to maintain the conſtitution are employed in its deſtruction, would be deemed guilty of treaſon, but we well know that the fact is the reverſe of this! What is treaſon then? This it behoves us to know, that we may eſcape the conſequences! I anſwer, that it is TREASON to attempt the maintenance of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the Bill of Rights in 1689: it is TREASON *for Proteſtants to keep or to procure arms for their defence:* it is TREASON for them to inſiſt upon *having elections of parliament free,*

or to form aſſociations for the purpoſe of framing petitions, or of taking the ſenſe of the people on the means to be uſed when petitions are found to be ineffectual for obtaining that and whatever elſe the Bill of Rights ſo ſolemnly inſiſted upon, as the condition on which the throne was to be held by the family of our preſent gracious Sovereign.

But I may be told that this is no *certain guide;* ſince no one of theſe acts was TREASON twelve years ago, *when they were both recommended and ſet on foot by his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters.* To this I need only anſwer, that *the caſe is now altered.* However, to make the matter quite clear, the beſt rule to be laid down is, that it is TREASON in any inſtance to reſiſt, or endeavour to prevent, the views or the intereſts of any of his Majeſty's Miniſters.

FOREWARNED, FOREARMED.

Oct. 9, 1794.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. EDITOR,

One of the Herd happened the other day to ſtray into Mr. A. Young's Annals, in hopes he might find an acorn or two; but had near been led aſtray into the land of Nineveh; however, not meeting at the entrance a *golden ram*, he found, as you'll ſee below, this land not to be the land of *Canaan*. If it amuſes you, it is at your ſervice.

A YOUNG PIG.

NOW it came to paſs that the land of Nineveh was ſore oppreſſed becauſe of their rulers.— The huſbandman toiled

toiled in his vineyard, yet he did not reap the fruits thereof.—The maſon and the carpenter were employed to build ſumptuous palaces, yet neither were they rewarded for their labour. But they had ſet over them tax-gatherers, who afflicted them with heavy burthens. And the rulers made the children of the people to ſerve with rigour. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage; for they took the men of Nineveh, and their ſons from their brethren in the midſt of their cities, and forced them to go and fight their battles; for they had no compaſſion on them.—And it came to paſs in thoſe days that there aroſe men out of the north, and out of the ſouth; men who looked on the burdens of the people. And they called them together, and they ſaid, we will peacefully aſſiſt you, that your wrongs may be redreſſed. But when the rulers heard this, they had theſe men thrown into priſons, and baniſhed the land of Nineveh.—And the king of Nineveh commanded the tax gatherers of the people, and his officers, ſaying—Let there be more taxes laid on the people, that they may labour thereto; and let them not regard vain words.—And the tax gatherers of the king went out, and his officers, and they ſpake to the people, ſaying, Wherefore are ye diſcontented, and ſtrive ye to rebel againſt your king, ſeeing not that he is wiſe and virtuous, and all his deeds are for the good of his people; that he hath, with learned and good men of the land of Nineveh, ſtrove to rule in *peace*, and with *mercy* in the land, and he hath made ye *abundantly happy*, even the loweſt of his ſubjects: yet, Oh! ye generation of vipers, do ye not ſeek to rebel againſt your rulers, your LORD'S ANOINTED.

SONG,

[WRITTEN FOR THE 14TH OF JULY, 1793.]

EVER dear be the day, ever ſacred the deed,
Which ſhook to its centre Oppreſſion's dark den;
Ever dear be the day on which millions were freed,
On which ſlaves and their lords were exalted to men!

Yes, dear be the day
Which reſtor'd Reaſon's ſway,
And fill'd r—y-l r——ns with rage and diſmay;
And prais'd be that proweſs which ſhew'd a tame world
With what eaſe Freedom's foes from their heights may be hurl'd.

Tho' Britain be leagu'd with an infamous band,
Who wiſh to extinguiſh Democracy's flame;
Tho' prieſtcraft and prejudice deluge the land,
And Engliſhmen ſhudder at Liberty's name;

Yet with ſouls that diſdain
All the cold-blooded train,
Who thro' int'reſt or fear would embrace Slav'ry's chain,
Again, mighty Gallia, we praiſe the great deed
Which ſhew'd proſtrate nations how men may be freed.

That courts and their vermin ſhould ſtrive to o'erturn
A fabric erected on Reaſon's foundation;
That the ſoul-cramping prieſthood with fury ſhould burn,
And ſcatter o'er Gallia the bolts of damnation:

That

That theſe ſhould ariſe,
And, with heaven-turn'd eyes,
Doom myriads to ſlaughter, can cauſe no ſurpriſe;
But that man, ſhackl'd man! ſhould evince the ſame hate,
Is a fact future Britons will bluſh to relate.

Still be firm then, O Frenchmen! ſtill nobly diſdain
All the arts, the vile arts, of the oil-bedaub'd clan;
Still be firm, and the rights of our nature maintain,
Still aſſert the grand cauſe of unprivileg'd man.
See Poland laid low,
And the mercileſs foe,
With the knife of partition, prepare the dread blow;
And thus, but for ſpirits reſolv'd to be free,
Theſe miſcreants, O Gallia! would faſten on thee.

When the preſent crown'd ruffians ſhall tenant the duſt,
Thy exertions, O France! the vaſt world will admire;
And the grandſons of thoſe who now deem thee unjuſt,
In the field, 'gainſt their tyrants, may nobly expire.
Yes, Gallia, thy beams
Shall diſpel monkiſh dreams—
Shall unveil filthy courts and their dark murd'ring ſchemes;
Till with ſouls all averſion, mankind ſhall ariſe,
Burſt the bands of oppreſſion, and pleaſe the All-wiſe.

EPIGRAM.

I'VE often wonder'd that on Iriſh ground
No poiſonous reptile yet was ever found;
But Nature ſoon or late completes her work,
She ſav'd her venom to create a Burke!

A NEW SONG.

Tune—" God ſave the King."

GOD ſave great THOMAS PAINE,
The *Rights of Man* explain
To every ſoul.
He makes the blind to ſee
What dupes and ſlaves they be,
And points out Liberty
From pole to pole.

Thouſands cry *Church and King*,
That well deſerve to ſwing,
All muſt agree.
Britons! Oh, bluſh for ſhame,
Mouchards defile your name,
Church and king mobs the ſame,
Patriots all ſee.

Why ſhould deſpotic pride
Rule upon ev'ry ſide?
Let us be free!
Grant Freedom's arms ſucceſs,
And all her efforts bleſs,
Plant thro' the univerſe
Liberty's tree.

Pull proud Oppreſſors down,
Knock off each Tyrant's c——n,
And break his ſword:

Down

Down with Ariſtocracy,
Set up Democracy,
And from hypocriſy
Save us, good Lord!

Deſpots may howl and yell,
Tho' they're in league with *hell*,
They'll not reign long.
Satan may lead the van,
And do the worſt he can,
PAINE, and his *Rights of Man*,
Shall be my ſong.

LINES.

[BY CHARLES CHURCHILL.]

PROUD Buckingham, for law too mighty grown,
A patriot dagger prob'd, and from the throne
Sever'd its minion. In ſucceeding times,
May all thoſe fav'rites who adopt his crimes
Partake his fate, and every Villiers feel
The keen, deep ſearchings of a Felton's ſteel.

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1794.

HORRID CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF THE KING.

THE alarms which have ſo long terrified us, and diſtracted our judgments, ſeem now to be arrived at their climax: diſcontents,—enmity to the conſtitution,—conſpiracies to overthrow it, and conſtructive treaſon, we are now aſſured, have proceeded to real treaſon,—to a direct deſign againſt the life of our gracious ſovereign. It is the misfortune of human nature, in general, that the more atrocious the act, the more readily it gains credit, terror takes place of reaſon, and we believe whatever we exceedingly fear.—That this credulity may be attended with very ſerious conſequences, our experience has too fatally proved.—Who (for inſtance) would have wiſhed for the preſent war, had we not been led to believe that France was endeavouring to overturn our conſtitution and government?

I con

I confeſs that I give no credit to the reports now circulated, and my reaſons I will proceed to ſtate.

Firſt, They are in themſelves, improbable at leaſt.—Is it likely that the London Correſponding Society ſhould have encouraged or ſhould have occaſioned a plot ſo contrary to the principles they have invariably profeſſed, namely, to reſtore, not to deſtroy, the conſtitution? They have ever openly avowed their principles, and have never, though they have been accuſed, been convicted of having deviated from them.

The people of this country may at preſent be divided into three claſſes, namely, 1ſt, Thoſe that love the conſtitution, and wiſh to prevent its deſtruction by a reform of the abuſes that threaten to undermine it.—2d, Thoſe that love the conſtitution, but dread a reform, leſt it ſhould be carried too far.—3dly, Thoſe that, under pretext of attachment to the conſtitution, and of enabling government to preſerve it, by ſtrengthening her hands, have revived the doctrines of paſſive obedience, and the divine right of kings, and are, in fact, endeavouring to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm; by that means to ſecure the continuance of their ſinecure places, and penſions, and to prevent expences of the ſtate from being levied in proportion to property. That ſuch a party as this laſt exiſts, is evident from the publications ſo induſtriouſly circulated by the aſſociations under the ſanction of Mr. Reeves; and their doctrines have been no leſs publicly avowed from the pulpit, and among others by Dr. Horſley, biſhop of St. David's, in a ſermon preached before the Houſe of Peers, and of which they declared their approbation by unanimouſly voting him their thanks. This claſs, therefore, may be conſidered as including nearly the whole Houſe of Peers, thoſe of the Commons elected by them, and all

thoſe

thoſe that take a part in the adminiſtration, and are enriched by the public burthens, or poſſeſſing large property, are ſcreened from paying an equal proportion of taxes.

The ſecond claſs, it is to be lamented, have ſupported the views of the latter, though actuated by very different motives,—motives which indeed would have rather occaſioned them to oppoſe thoſe views, and to unite their weight to thoſe that call for reform, had not their judgments been blinded by terror, by the apprehenſions that reformers had views different from what they profeſſed; that their real object was a revolution, and a republican government. That there are individuals that have ſuch a wiſh, is probable, but that they are many, or poſſeſs any conſiderable influence, there is no room to believe. However, it is obviouſly the intereſt of the promoters of deſpotiſm to diſſeminate ſuch an opinion, and to this purpoſe I cannot but impute all the alarms which have been experienced, from the inſurrections in the cloſe of the year 1792, to the preſent frightful conſpiracy againſt the life of the King. That the views of the reformers were no other than they profeſs, we have every proof the nature of the caſe will admit. In their laſt petition to Parliament, ſigned by 22,000, they ſtated diſtinctly the various deviations from the conſtitution, and pledged themſelves to prove them by evidence; yet they made no imperious demand of ſpecific redreſs, but ſubmitted all to the wiſdom of the Legiſlature.

But whether they wiſhed for a reform or a revolution, in either caſe, ſuch an atrocious attempt as that which they are accuſed of having meditated would be utterly contrary to their intereſt; it would not for a moment leave the throne unoccupied; and the numerous progeny of our ſovereign, all arrived at mature age, admits not even a diſtant proſpect of this. But, on the other hand, this act

would

would infallibly unite all moderate men in oppoſition to theſe profeſſed reformers, and promote the views of thoſe that wiſh to perpetuate abuſes.

It ſeems therefore to be the intereſt of theſe latter to circulate ſuch tales as theſe, and to take ſuitable meaſures for giving them credit: and how far this may be conſiſtent with their principles, a review of the general tenor of their conduct will beſt evince.

On May 21, 1792, his Majeſty's Proclamation was iſſued; it occaſioned a general alarm, and aſſociations being univerſally ſet on foot for the profeſſed purpoſe of defending the Conſtitution, the alacrity with which the People united to them gave the Adminiſtration an unequivocal proof of their attachment to it. This being aſcertained beyond all doubt, it ſeems to have been determined to proceed to open hoſtilities againſt all reformers; and the riots of Birmingham and of Mancheſter accordingly took place. Next followed, in exact uniſon with each other, the fortification (as it is called) of the Tower with ſugar hogſheads, the calling out the militia, aſſembling of Parliament, and declaring to them that the kingdom was in a ſtate of inſurrection; and, to corroborate the whole, it was induſtriouſly circulated that Government had diſcovered a conſpiracy, by which London was to be ſet on fire in twenty places, and the Tower at the ſame time to be attacked and ſeized; the alarm was univerſal! Thoſe few penetrating individuals who boldly avowed their incredulity, and aſked for proofs, were regarded as diſaffected—as parties to the conſpiracy. Nor was the ferment permitted to ſubſide until a war with France was the reſult.

Thus arms and ammunition were put into the hands of the miniſter; yet his party have ſince confeſſed that they could not prove the inſurrections they had aſſerted to exiſt!

iſt! But they argued, it was ſufficient that the People themſelves were ſatisfied of the fact; that the People *were* ſo ſatisfied is indeed evident; but to me this circumſtance offers a very different concluſion. I can ſee it in no other light than as a proof of their confidence in the exiſting government, and their implicit faith in its aſſertions.

Conſequent upon this have been the trials of Muir, Palmer, &c. &c. condemned, for having maintained the claims inſiſted upon and guaranteed to Britons in the Bill of Rights, to tranſportation for fourteen years, or for life!

After this followed the trial of Mr. Walker, firſt charged with HIGH TREASON, and conſpiring the death of the King. *To this charge the Secretary of State, Mr. Dundas, was privy for many months,* and Mr. Walker was at that time in London: It cannot be thought, therefore, that he omitted to inform himſelf of the nature of the evidence, and what appearance of probability accompanied it. It appears on the reſult, that two witneſſes being neceſſary to ſuſtain the charge of HIGH TREASON, after a vain attempt to ſuborn them for many months, it was given up: and the ſame charge brought under a different name, that of a Conſpiracy. The Judge, not being in the ſecret, remarked to the Counſel for the perſecution, that the crime, of which evidence was given, appeared to him, to be not a Conſpiracy, but HIGH TREASON; but the learned Counſel aſſured him, that government had a right to adopt a milder charge. Another motive may, however, be added to this mild and humane diſpoſition of government. It appears that the charge for High Treaſon was kept open for many months, during which time, endeavours were not wanting to ſuborn the evidence of two other witneſſes: theſe endeavours having failed, this charge was given up, yet not to loſe the benefit of the evidence which had been procured, the charge for a Conſpiracy was brought forward,

forward, and to prevent the two other men from giving teſtimony of the attempts made to ſuborn their evidence, they were alſo included in the accuſation, and tried with Mr. Walker. With him they were HONORABLY ACQUITTED, and the evidence againſt them clearly proved to have given falſe EVIDENCE, and to have acknowledged that he had been BRIBED to do it.

Next in the order of modern State Trials come thoſe of Watt and Downie: the former is proved and admitted to have been in he employ of government, and the part of the charge which is really illegal — the deſign to attack the Caſtle of Edinburgh, &c. is fixed upon him alone; the other part, the right to procure and to keep arms, is expreſsly claimed for Proteſtants in the Bill of Rights; but the uſe which Watt was proved to propoſe putting them to, is imputed to others; thus the alarm is kept up: this may anſwer the views of certain men. But it may be ſaid, if Watt had been encouraged by them to endeavor to ſet this plot on foot, they would have ſecured him from the conſequences: to this I anſwer, that thoſe who like the treaſon, are not neceſſarily friendly to the traitor; on the contrary, they uſually dread his betraying their ſecret, and may deem it policy to take away the force of his aſſertions, by making them appear to reſult from reſentment of their juſt ſeverity; the object of the preſent report ſeems not inconſiſtent with the general views of Adminiſtration. The trial of Hardy, &c. &c. is coming on; the manoeuvres of which they are the objects merit notice. I am unacquainted with any one of them, but am credibly informed, that, the day before Hardy was ſeized, he received a letter, in a hand unknown to him, relative to procuring arms; it was to be preſumed, that he would keep it, and endeavour to trace the author, and if

ſo,

ſo, the peace officers, who came the next morning to apprehend him, would find it in his poſſeſſion: accordingly, ſo it turned out. And, at the Trial of Watt, it was deemed neceſſary, for motives which did not then appear, to prove a correſpondence between him and Hardy: for this purpoſe, John Taylor, late a Crimp, whoſe houſe, in Bride-Lane, Fleet-Street, was in conſequence deſtroyed, and who is now concealed (a warrant being out to apprehend him for bigamy) was taken to Scotland, as it ſhould ſeem for the ſole purpoſe of giving evidence, that a letter, found in the poſſeſſion of Watt, was wrote by Hardy: this baſe letter, I have been aſſured, was not wrote by him. If theſe are facts, the ingenious gentlemen, who have contrived them, will not have been at all inconſiſtent with themſelves, in firſt endeavouring to ſet on foot, and then making publick the preſent alarming Conſpiracy. Certainly, it may be politic in them to divert the public attention from foreign and domeſtick preſent calamities, by alarming us with the apprehenſion of greater; and, by the ſame means to make the condemnation of thoſe now coming to trial, a popular meaſure. They have taken ſome other meaſures for this purpoſe: for inſtance, the habeas corpus being ſuſpended, they have ſent to apprehend, and by that means to preclude the evidence of thoſe who might invalidate the teſtimony of Taylor, or the other witneſſes for the proſecution; one of theſe gentlemen I have ſeen, who declared that they had been at his houſe for that purpoſe, when he happened to be from home; it is aſſerted, that no leſs than fifty have been taken up within this week, for the purpoſe of depriving the parties now coming to trial of their evidence.

Terror is, it ſeems, the order of the day, and our rulers ſeem to think, that the deſtruction of their Patriot leaders

will

will extinguiſh the ſpirit of their countrymen. Neither hiſtory, nor our own experience warrant this opinion; men may by puniſhment be reſtrained from crimes, but virtue is more frequently confirmed by oppoſition. With regard to the probability of the intended aſſaſſination, the proof of the intent ſeems to be the exiſtence of the implement: its contrivance is much deſcanted upon in the treaſury publications, and it is made very obvious that it was contrived for ſome infernal purpoſe. It appears too, that the maker of it, and the informer, are one and the ſame; the inſtrument he has made is produced as a clear proof of the truth of his evidence. The Treaſury prints too, to ſtrengthen it ſtill further, ſpeak of him as a moſt ingenious mechanic: ſome other traits of his character, however, may tend better to clear it up. For inſtance, he appears to have been, in 1780, a leader in the Riots, and on that account obliged for a conſiderable time to abſcond, or conceal himſelf. In 1792, he was obliged to do the ſame, a large reward being offered for his apprehenſion, for having ſet fire to a houſe, in Cold-Bath-Fields: being next taken up in attempting to ſteal a horſe, and expecting his perſon would be recognized, he entered into an engagement with the conſtable, to diſcover and deliver up the incendiary, on condition of receiving half the reward, which he actually did by delivering up himſelf; and managed matters ſo well, that when the ſeſſions came on, the evidence did not appear, and the bill of indictment was thrown out. He has ſince been an active member of the London Correſponding Society, and would have obtained an office of ſome truſt among them, but from the diſcovery of his character and the conſequent oppoſition he met with, eſpecially from Le Maitre and Smith; part of his depoſition againſt Higgins was

diſproved

diſproved by evidence, and the other part wore every appearance of falſehood.

However, the wiſdom of adminiſtration has determined them to ſift the affair to the bottom, and accordingly we ſhall doubtleſs continue to have in the Treaſury Papers, daily, further particulars concerning this dreadful conſpiracy.

PIKES

RECOMMENDED BY GENERAL HALL.

YORKSHIRE has ever been diſtinguiſhed for its independent ſpirit, yet maintained the moſt ſcrupulous ſubmiſſion to the conſtituted authorities; and a meaſure being ſanctioned by an Act of Parliament has been ſufficient to ſuppreſs the moſt violent tumult.

An inſtance of this occurred on the erection of turnpike bars in that county; when a neighbouring gentleman addreſſed the mob in words to this purport—"You know not what you are doing; you are flying in the face of an Act of Parliament; for by ſuch an Act is this new regulation authorized." This ſhort piece of information not only reſtored tranquility and order, but eſtabliſhed the ſecurity of turnpikes.

In the ſame county reſided the famous General Hall, who poſſeſſed that independent ſpirit for which Britons were once famous; and that *ſervant of his Majeſty* recommended to the People of Yorkſhire not to depend for their protection on any military eſtabliſhment, not even on the militia itſelf, but to provide themſelves every man with a KNIFE about eight feet long, on a conſtruction

con-

contrived and exhibited by himſelf. And I have accordingly ſeen two of theſe, with fire arms, and a family eſcutcheon, adorn the chimney-piece of a gentleman who knew the general, and who often ſpoke to me of the importance of that officer's hint. And General Hall's knives are to this day talked of, though his advice is too little practiſed in Yorkſhire.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

THE following paper not being inſerted by a certain newſpaper to which it was offered, it may perhaps be more uſeful by being confined to the inſpection of a few honeſt men, than uſed by the Counſel on both ſides.

Sheffield, Oct. 15, 1794.

FOR JURYMEN.

ON the preſent occaſion, when brother is ſubpœnaed againſt brother, and priſoner againſt priſoner, it is important that jurymen and witneſſes ſhould know there are ſerious thinking men who would not regard the obligation of an oath that ſhould bind them to be acceſſary to an action they diſapprove.

Some philoſophers, and others alſo who are not philoſophers, are convinced that no ſtate has a right to execute its members, or to exceed the puniſhment of perpetual or laborious impriſonment; and if ſuch a man were a witneſs or a juryman, he would as much violate his conſcience by being acceſſary to what he reputes a murder in fulfilling his oath as by breaking it, and I think more; ſince

ſince he injures no man by breaking a promiſe wreſted from him by the artifice of ſtateſmen, or by the ſimplicity of our anceſtors (who agreed to the form of the oath as now fixed), to commit an unjuſt action.

The common arguments againſt the ſacred duty of breaking an unjuſt oath, are ſo futile that they might be ſufficiently anſwered by the contrivance of perſons concerned in the ſhipping buſineſs of a great company, who are ſaid to make an oath in the morning to break all the oaths they make that day; or, by obſerving that, till lately it was believed, even in this country, that there exiſted a power on earth who could diſpenſe with any oaths, however binding, by a venal ſcrap of parchment. But unfortunately men's conſciences are more tender and ſcrupulous when the lives of their fellow creatures are at ſtake, than with regard to a cuſtom houſe debenture, or a piece of contraband goods.

It may be ſaid—but we are at liberty to refuſe the oath. But, I believe, the penalty for ſuch deadneſs of principle is impriſonment for life, as appeared upon the trial of Winterbotham; yet, however uſeful numerous examples of fortitude like this may be towards removing this blemiſh from our laws, it would be giving up the opportunity of preventing a murder; and it is perhaps of ſtill more importance to add new examples of an acknowledged fact, that miſapplied, unjuſt oaths, and, moſt of all, thoſe binding us to diſhoneſt actions, cannot bind an honeſt man.

I will further add, that if the ſtate ſays, "You ſhall "break your word or be impriſoned for life," it is our duty to chooſe the leaſt of the two oppreſſions; or rather, to give an example of the ſacred duty of ſacrificing even

our

our reputation of veracity among a certain claſs when the ſocial relations require.

Theſe are principles which every man muſt feel ſtronger than he chooſes to avow. And it is preciſely for this reaſon that I think it of the utmoſt importance for honeſt men to know there exiſt many who think with me.

Since the priſoners have not only law and equity, but virtue and honor, on their ſide, and cannot be condemned but by ſubornation of falſe witneſſes, it is at leaſt a queſtion in morals, whether we have not ſome right of retaliation—at leaſt ſo far as to fight our opponents with their own weapons.

And however we may make up our minds to ſacrifice our own intereſt to our ſcruples, we have no right to make the lives of our fellow-citizens the forfeit.

THE LION AND THE WOLVES.

A FABLE.

BEYOND the weſtern verge of the earth, whence the ancient Romans, as they fancifully reported, were wont to hear the ſun ſet in the ſea with a hiſſing and thundering ſound, there lies an Iſland, which for many ages was inhabited by a mighty Lion, who enjoyed all the bleſſings of liberty and peace in his wide domain. But in proceſs of time, a Wolf, from the Hyrcanian foreſt, as he was travelling ſouth, in ſearch of a happier climate, heard of the happy Iſland inhabited by the Lion, and came to a reſolution to paſs over and fix his reſidence there. With this view he entered into a treaty with other Wolves, of whom he became

came the chief, and they paſſed over, ſurprized the Lion, and took him priſoner; when dreading his power and his juſt vengeance in caſe he ſhould regain his liberty, the wolves faſtened him to the ground with ropes and other inſtruments of oppreſſion. They alſo gave him ſleeping potions to keep him ſtill, and if ever he ſeemed likely to become refractory, they ſtunned him with violent blows on the head, they made additions to the faſtenings, by means of which they kept him down, every year, inſomuch that thoſe ſhackles ſpread over him like a tent or marquee, and if ever he opened his eyes a little, it was almoſt impoſſible for him to get "a glimpſe through the gloom". The Lion continued thus as one dead for ſeveral hundred years, and the Wolves riotouſly and wantonly fattened on the ſpoils of his country. After the lapſe of ages, however, the Lion accidentally received a mighty ſtroke of PAIN; the noiſe of it was like thunder, the Wolves were ſtruck into a ſtupor by it, and it was ſaid the Lion revived ſo far, as to move one of his ears. A ſecond ſtroke of PAIN ſucceeded, which cauſed the Lion to open one of his eyes, and he began to have ſome thoughts of getting up from his cruel confinement. The Wolves were rouſed from their ſtate of ſtupefaction, and howled more loudly than their brethren on the ſtormy ſteeps of Orca. They encouraged each other to apply more faſtenings to the Lion. Some adviſed ſending him out to ſea and drowning him. Others were for ſending him to a foreign country, where he might be knocked ou the head, or buried alive. A Magpie, named Edmund, was ſent to a *fiſt market* in the country, where he learned to call the Lion all manner of names; and in addition to all his otherſufferings, duſt was thrown in his eyes, in order to put them quite out, if poſſible.

Such

Such was the ſtate of things when the laſt accounts were received from the Lion's country, or rather the country of the Wolves, as they have uſurped it—but as the Wolves had devoured all the Lion's property, it was thought ſome of them would decamp; and it was pretty generally believed, that all their efforts would not be ſufficient to keep him down many years longer.

MR. EDITOR,

By throwing the following among your Food for the Swine, you will oblige

A FRIEND TO REFORM.

R—Y—L RESOLUTIONS.

WHEN our M-ſt-r, God bleſs him, aſcended the throne,
So pious a M-n--ch ſure never was known;
He made a great fuſs,
How, that born among us,
He was Britiſh all over, in blood and in bone,
Which delighting his ſubjects, they roar'd and huzza'd;
When theſe reſolutions his M-j--ſty made.

My grandfather reign'd like a ſilly old fool;
On a different ſyſtem my kingdom I'll rule,
By maxims I've learn'd in a very old ſchool.

No parties of men ſhall have influence here,
That they all are alike I would make it appear,
So I'll have a new miniſtry every year.

The Tories ſhall triumph, the Whigs ſhall repine,
For though they brought hither the H-n-v-r line,
Being friends to their country, they cannot be mine.

I'll

I'll narrowly watch how each ſubject behaves,
And retain in my ſervice a parcel of knaves,
Who diſtruſting each other,—muſt all be my ſlaves.

A treaſurer I'll have who will blindly agree,
Whatever his real opinion may be,
To carry all meaſures adopted by me.

If I knew of a ſtateſman, wiſe, honeſt and good,
From his friends I'd detach him as ſoon as I cou'd,
And if he ſtick to them—why G—d d——n his blood.

If I knew of a man ignominious and baſe,
Who had brought on himſelf and his country diſgrace,
I'd exalt him at once into power and place.

Some profligate dog in iniquity tried,
Who ſcarce ever uttered one word but he lied,
O'er the navy of England I'd chuſe to preſide.

And when I have got all theſe men to my mind,
To my abſolute pleaſure completely reſign'd,
How well I may govern—my people ſhall find.

Such an army I'll have as this Iſle never ſaw,
To keep all thoſe troubleſome puppies in awe,
Who prate about liberty, juſtice, and law.

Should a part of my ſubjects deny me my will,
My troops I'll ſend over, ſuch rebels to kill,
Not caring what oceans of blood I may ſpill.

If theſe ar'n't ſufficient, for Germans I'll ſend,
And ſtick at no means of obtaining my end,
Not caring what millions of treaſure I ſpend.

Advice that's unpleaſant I never will heed,
And tho' every vein of my country ſhall bleed;
If once I am determin'd, by God I'll proceed.

I'll haughtily ſwear that I never will treat,
'Till the mutinous raſcals are brought to my feet;
But I'll alter my note—when I'm heartily beat.

Should my enemies join them, I'll down on my knees,
And offer them terms which every one ſees
I may afterwards give them, or not, as I pleaſe.

Should they make my ambaſſadors ſerve them for ſport,
And ſend them with ridicule back to my court,
I can only declare—I ſhall be ſorry for it.

Tho' the publick affairs be adminiſtered ill,
If they always imp icitly yield to my will,
The very ſame men ſhall be miniſters ſtill.

For what tho' Great Britain decline every day,
In ſpite of the world I ſhall have it to ſay,
That the K——g of Great Britain has had his own way.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

SOME of the ſuperior Robbers of the world, who have worn crowns, have, notwithſtanding the iniquitous actions they have been guilty of, ſhewn at times ſome traits of greatneſs. The late King of Pruſſia was a robber of this claſs. But his nephew, the *preſent* King, has nothing of greatneſs to balance his infamy. Baffled in his project to enſlave France; ſwindling his ally, the Britiſh nation, out of its money; ſneaking back to his palace at Potzdam, under cover of twilight, after having proved the faithleſs plunderer, and at laſt the chagrined, routed Ravager of Poland,—under ſuch circumſtances, and with ſuch a blaſted character, it may probably be diſcuſſed by the Hiſtorian—Whether the weakneſs or the wickedneſs of this Royal Gentleman was moſt conſpicuous!

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ON GOVERNMENT.

THOUGH Monarchy and Ariſtocracy are the prevailing forms of Government in much the greater part of Europe, and many are the advocates for each, yet in the more enlightened, and leſs corrupted ſtates, Democracy, or Republicaniſm, is predominant.

The celebrated BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (whoſe memory will be dear as long as ever a lover of truth and impartiality exiſts) regarded ROYALISM *as a crime equal to that of poiſoning.*

The no leſs celebrated and admired ROUSSEAU declared himſelf *the enemy of kings;* and THOMAS PAINE has advanced, in his celebrated *Rights of Man*, truths irrefutable in favour of a Republican Government.

Though theſe great political oracles have exhauſted all the powers of genius in ſupport of their ſyſtem, ſtill their attempts

attempts have at preſent been fruitleſs. The miſt of prejudice obſcures the eyes of mankind, who have forgot their natural dignity, and ſtoop without repining at the enormous burdens heaped upon their paſſive ſhoulders. Dazzled by the ſplendor of courts, and taught to regard a *king* as little leſs than a divinity, the people, blindly led by ſuperſtition and ignorance, have never dared to look into the corruptions of their Government, or tax their governors as tyrants and oppreſſors. Let impartiality then judge between a Republican and Monarchical ſyſtem.

The immenſe ſum a Monarch takes to ſatisfy his luxury, or exalt the dignity of his throne, would enable *ſixty thouſand* families of our fellow-citizens to live comfortably—ſuppoſe nothing elſe was adduced, this is a ſufficient reaſon for aboliſhing it. If this vaſt ſum was taken off, † a reduction of taxes might be effected, and conſequently eaſe the people in ſome degree.

What advantages does a nation derive from a king? Kings do not exalt its dignity; nor does the ſplendor of a throne tend to terrify its enemies. The real dignity of a nation conſiſts in a contempt for childiſh baubles, and the conſciouſneſs of its *own dignity*. The executive power of a nation can do without a king; and common ſenſe will tell every unbiaſſed man, that intruſting the ſovereign power in the hands of *one man*, is the higheſt imprudence, as it ſubjects the ſtate to his capricious will. What then is a king? an officer from whom no advantage flows—from whom nothing is required—whoſe place may at one time be filled by a fool—at another time a tyrant—a place of form devoid of utility, fit for nothing except to engender political corruption, and court intrigue.

† France ſupports the expences of the preſent expenſive war againſt almoſt every power in Europe, entirely by this abolition.

Republicaniſm

Republicaniſm has been cried down as the worſt of evils by every court ſycophant; but their calumnies ſerve more effectually to exhibit the vices and abuſes of Monarchy, which, though ſufficiently expoſed, has ſuch men, and (to the honour of human nature) ſuch men only for its defenders. An equal Republic is the eſſence of human reaſon; it is the only government in which freemen can diſplay their abilities and ſtrength; a government in which the wiſdom of a whole nation is gathered together for the common good—no idle placemen fatten upon the labours of the induſtrious mechanic; where a perfect *equality* is its leading feature—where freedom of ſpeech is admitted; nor are the efforts of genius in fear of thoſe formidable miniſterial weapons—*proſecutions*; equal laws, equal liberty, to the pooreſt as well as the rich, no expenſive pomp to ſupport a king, under the denomination of a *civil liſt*; in ſhort, Republicaniſm needs only to be well underſtood, and it would be univerſally admired and adopted. The oppoſition to ſuch a ſyſtem proceeds from nothing but ignorance, except we ſay the *intereſt* placemen have to decry it.

In the Engliſh Government, nothing but the ſhadow of Democracy remains, the ſubſtance is fled, for nearly the whole of the Houſe of Commons conſiſts of the ſons of thoſe very noblemen who compoſe the Ariſtocracy of the kingdom. Who then repreſent the people? Why—The people are not repreſented, for the Lower is influenced by the Upper Houſe. Even the ſo much boaſted conſtitution, as ſettled at the Revolution in 1668, has been, and is continually groſsly violated. Placemen may now ſit in the Houſe of Commons, a thing diametrically oppoſite to the Act of Settlement, wherein it expreſsly declares, that "*No perſon "having an office or place under the king, or receiving a pen-"ſion from the Crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as a member*

"*of*

" *of the Houſe of Commons.*" And this is not the only innovation upon the rights of the people ſince the Revolution. Triennial parliaments were then adjudged the beſt to prevent bribery and corruption; this has been prolonged to ſeptennial, in order to keep miniſters long in their ſituations.

Thus is that GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, which we are inſtructed to admire, almoſt every veſtige of it loſt—almoſt every act then paſſed favourable to the liberties of the people, annulled. What difference is there then between the limited Monarchy of Great Britain, and the unlimited deſpotiſm of Germany or Pruſſia; for though the King of Great Britain is ſuppoſed *never to do wrong*, and his miniſters are amenable for their miſconduct, ſtill while *they* have *law in their own power*, they will prevent it from reaching them.

J. P. BRISSOTT, the late unfortunate member of the French Convention, very juſtly obſerved, that " *the Engliſh had no political liberty, and that the Miniſter was the real ſovereign, although George, by playing the farce of Monarchy, appeared to enjoy that dignity himſelf.*"

That the people of England may be no longer amuſed with ſuch farces, muſt be the wiſh of every real lover of his country, of which I profeſs myſelf one.

WILLIAM TOON, JUN.

IF a long train of abuſes, prevarications, and artifices, all tending the ſame way, make the deſign viſible to the *people*, and they cannot but *feel* what they lie under, and ſee whither they are going; it is not to be wondered, that they ſhould then rouſe themſelves, and *endeavour to put the rule into ſuch hands, which may ſecure to them the ends for which Government was at firſt created.*

Locke, on Civil Government, B. II, C. 19.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

By inſerting the following in your valuable Miſcellany, you will oblige

Your's &c.

M. J.

QUALITIES
TO FORM A
TRUE PATRIOT.

THE firſt eſſential ingredient neceſſary to form a true patriot is impartiality; for if a perſon ſhall think himſelf bound by any other rules but thoſe of his own reaſon and judgment, or obliged to follow the dictates of others, who ſhall appear the heads of the party he is engaged in, he ſinks below the dignity of a human being, and voluntarily reſigns thoſe guides which nature has given him to direct him in all ſpheres of life. This is but too much the misfortune of the country we live in; for let either *Whig* or *Tory*, when in power, grow wanton in the abuſe of it, by illegal and unwarrantable meaſures; thoſe among them, who, by the influence of their conſciences, ſhall be prevailed on to oppoſe ſuch ſteps as they judge wicked and dangerous, are ſtiled by the leading men of the party they were engaged in, (and conſequently reputed by their numerous train of *ſycophants and followers*) *deſerters of their friends*, becauſe ſuch honeſt men refuſed to be what they eſteem, *betrayers of their country*.

The coldneſs, and ſometimes diſdain, which a man governed thus by the principles of honor, generally meets with on ſuch occaſions, from the friends he has ever acted in con-

concert with for the former part of his life, are conſiderations which but too often ſubdue the beſt inclined ſpirits, and prevail with them to be paſſive and obedient, rather than active and reſolute. But if ſuch perſons could but once feel the comfort and pleaſure of having done their duty, they would meet with ſufficient reward within themſelves, to overbalance the *loſs* of their *friends*, or the *malice* of their *enemies*. The many examples which every age can furniſh of the miſchiefs which *ambitious* and *avaricious* men have brought upon the governments they have lived under, are obvious to all mankind. In obſcure perſons, theſe monſtrous vices frequently lead thoſe that are poſſeſſed of them into miſchiefs and villainy, and are often the cauſes that have brought mean offenders under the hands of the law. But whenever, for the *curſe* of a government, the greateſt ſtateſmen are endowed with *theſe ſprings of corruption and knavery*, the unfortunate ſubjects who live under their influence *muſt fall victims* to ſatisfy their *gluttonous appetites*, and the ſtate they preſide in will be treated by them as if it were given by Providence into their hands, to gratify their *cruel and deſtructive paſſions*.

Theſe vices, when they are not ſtrong enough to work the mind to public knavery and villainy, frequently throw ſhackles on the hearts of men, who would otherwiſe act uprightly, and reſtrain them from doing that which is warranted by juſtice and honeſty. How many perſons has this country produced, in former times, who, convinced of the true intereſt of *Great Britain*, have avoided and declined to purſue it, for fear of loſing a little inconſiderable employment, no way ſuitable to their ranks and fortunes! Can there be a more melancholy proſpect, than to ſee men of the greateſt abilities, quality, and eſtates,

tates, make it their utmoſt deſire to be admitted *tools* to a *court*, where they ought to preſide; and conſider, that they muſt, of courſe, be involved in the common *ruin*, and fall the firſt, becauſe they are the greateſt ſacrifices to the *ambition* and *avarice* of evil miniſters.

Intrepidity and firmneſs are two virtues which every *true Patriot* muſt be maſter of, or elſe all the other talents he is poſſeſſed of are uſeleſs and barren. A man may be honeſt, juſt, and righteous; but, if he is fearful and timorous, he will ſtagger when theſe great qualities are moſt needful to be exerted for the good of his country, and ſink into a *lukewarm patriot*. Some men of integrity have been prevailed on to remain quiet and inactive, to avoid the reflections caſt on them by thoſe *hireling ſcribblers*. We have heard of conſiderable men, in late reigns, who have retired into the country, and left the power of government in the hands of others, for fear, if they oppoſed the meaſures then purſuing, they ſhould be branded with the *odious* names of *Jacobines* and *diſaffected perſons*. Such men as theſe, thought honeſt in theory, who fear to be ſo in practice, ſhould conſider, that of all the duties which nature firſt requires, none is more ſtrong or more neceſſary than that we owe to our country. Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a judgment on any ſubject relating to the government, yet dreads to declare it by his actions in that ſituation of life, where he is naturally called upon to do it, *becomes, by his inactivity, a party to the very meaſures his reaſon blames, and his conſcience condemns.*

In *England* this puſillanimity is more to be warded againſt than in moſt other countries; for whenever there has appeared an *ill-deſigning miniſtry*, one of their chief views has been to *traduce and terrify thoſe who have had*

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the courage to adhere inviolably to the liberties of the ſubject. This method has been generally purſued, and the ſituation of affairs here, has always furniſhed the *tools* of government with means to oblige their *Maſters*, and obey their commands in this particular. When the *Tories* have been in power, thoſe who did not give ſupplies, or anſwer their intentions, were inſtantly called *foes to their country*, and *Republicans:* and the *Whigs* never fail to ſtile their antagoniſts, *foes to the ſtate* and *Jacobins*. But a bold and daring Patriot will ſcorn theſe little ſlanders, nor ſuffer them to obſtruct his *integrity*. Such a perſon will *weigh* his actions in the ſcale of reaſon and juſtice; and when once they are agreeable to thoſe principles, he will purſue his courſe ſteadily, and, deſpiſing all his enemies can ſay of his behaviour, will not *ſuffer their malice* to be a protection to their wickedneſs. Such a Patriot will propoſe no other proſpect but the public good of the *common-wealth*; and if, in the attaining that great end, by the *villainy of the times*, he ſhould fall a martyr to his country, he will, with comfort, conſider that he has anſwered the will of his Maker, who ſent him *into the world to do good, or die, rather than not oppoſe evil.* It is incumbent on every perſon who lives in a *common-wealth*, to promote the welfare of it, as much as his ſituation of life will permit him; and therefore, thoſe who act in a little ſphere, ought to exert their zeal with as much ſincerity, as thoſe of greater figure or power. Such as can have no other opportunities of publiſhing their thoughts, but by communicating them to the world in print, would be wanting in their duty, ſhould they neglect taking that method of informing their fellow ſubjects of matters, which perhaps otherwiſe might eſcape their knowledge, though neceſſary for them to be acquainted with. The *liberty of the preſs* is one of the greateſt bulwarks of

our

our *freedom;* and there needs no greater argument to prove it, than the frequent attempts that have been made to deſtroy it, under pretence of *reſtraining it.* Wicked men muſt naturally labour to have their actions concealed, or, at leaſt, ſo publiſhed, that every perſon ſhould credit the *gloſſes* which they throw upon them; but the judicious part of mankind will be informed of every circumſtance before they peremptorily give an opinion on any matter whatſoever. In civil caſes, no man's word ought to be taken in his own cauſe, nor when he attempts to juſtify an action he is accuſed of; but all parties muſt be heard before the court can proceed to give ſentence; and therefore the People of England will, in public matters, expect the ſame uſage before they determine to blame or applaud any action whatſoever, in which they are concerned. Every perſon who writes on *political ſubjects* ought to be free from *partiality*, and every other vice which may ſway his ſentiments, or induce him to repreſent matters in falſe lights; but to lay truth open, in ſuch manner as becomes one who determines to DIE A TRUE PATRIOT.

BRITISH LIBERTY!!

NANCY was ſitting at the door of her father's cot, her head reclining on her boſom, thinking on her William, her ſailor, who had been abſent from her fifteen long months.

They had long loved each other with all that pure and artleſs love, which is known by few except the innocent and happy villagers, when William, lured by the hopes of getting riches, let himſelf be perſuaded by his friend, who

who was a ſailor, to make a voyage to the Eaſt Indies. In vain did the gentle, the tender Nancy, endeavor to diſſuade him from going; he told her, he would only make one voyage, ſhould return loaded with riches, and would then marry her.

As ſhe was thus ſitting, penſive and ſad, ſhe perceived the ſhadow of ſomebody approaching towards her, and, lifting up her head, beheld her William. It would ſurpaſs the power of language to paint the touching ſcene which enſued. William flew towards her, and, claſping her in his arms, preſſed her with rapture to his boſom; his joy deprived him of the power of ſpeech, and he was ſome time before he could utter a ſyllable. The lovely, the tender Nancy fainted away in his arms. At length, coming to herſelf, ſhe ſaid, in the moſt tender accent, "Are you my William?"—"Yes," ſaid he; "yes, my "dear Nancy, I am your William, returned to keep his "promiſe—returned, never to leave you again." Alas! he little thought that in a few moments he was to be barbarouſly torn from her! For, lo! a preſs-gang, who had followed him at a diſtance, ſuddenly ſeized him, and told him he muſt go ſerve the king. O, what language can expreſs the feelings of William, and thoſe of the tender Nancy, when they heard theſe words! Embracing each other ſtill tighter, and then looking at the preſs-gang, they ſeemed to aſk them if they had hearts hard enough to tear them aſunder. But the barbarians, far from being touched at ſo affecting a ſcene, tore William away; and, becauſe he attempted to reſiſt, the lieutenant who commanded them ſtruck him over the head with his cutlaſs. He was dragged away like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

And

And can the land in which ſuch acts as theſe are encouraged be called the Land of Liberty? Can that man be called a Freeman, who does not know one minute before another but he may be torn from his wife and family, from all he holds dear, to pamper pride and ambition? If this is not the moſt cruel tyranny, I cannot conceive what can be called tyranny. Yet it is what is daily practiſed in this country; and this is the land of *Liberty* and *equal Laws!!!*

Dragged away in the manner I have juſt mentioned, William was ſent on board one of the ſhips compoſing Lord Howe's fleet, and was ſlain in the action of the 1ſt of June.

When Nancy heard of his death, her grief was ſuch as would ſurpaſs the power of language to deſcribe; ſuffice it to ſay, ſhe lived only a week after receiving the afflicting news.

Ye who pity the fate of William and Nancy, know, that this kingdom affords daily inſtances of the moſt cruel barbarity:—Fathers torn from the boſoms of their families, ſons from the arms of their aged parents, and ſent to be ſlaughtered, to gratify the ambition of a *few Tyrants*, who are wallowing in luxury.

Countrymen! ſhew a Britiſh ſpirit. Be but reſolute, and you will teach your Tyrants terrible things. Freedom is our birthright; let us die or obtain it; for we have now only the name.

ON SOCIETY.

[FROM ROUSSEAU'S TREATISE ON THE SOCIAL COMPACT.]

MAN is born free, and yet is univerſally enſlaved. At the ſame time, an individual frequently conceives himſelf to be the lord and maſter over others, though only more eminently deprived of liberty. Whence can this change ariſe? Are there any means by which it may be rendered lawful? The former queſtion I cannot anſwer, though I imagine myſelf capable of reſolving the latter.

If I took into conſideration only the exiſtence and effects of power, I ſhould ſay, So long as a People are compelled to obey, they do well to be obedient; but, as ſoon as they are in a capacity to reſiſt, they do better to throw off the yoke of reſtraint. For, in recovering their liberty on the ſame plea by which they loſt it, either they have a juſt right to re-aſſume it, or thoſe could have none who deprived them of it. But there is an inviolable right, founded on the very nature of ſociety, which ſerves as the baſis of all others. Man doth not derive this right, however, from nature; it is founded on mutual convention.

The moſt ancient of all ſocieties, and the only natural one, is that of a family. And even in this, children are no longer connected with their father than while they ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. When this becomes needleſs, the natural tie is of courſe diſſolved, the children are exempted from the obedience they owe their father, and the father is equally ſo from the ſolicitude due from him

to

to his children; both aſſume a ſtate of independence reſpecting each other. They may continue, indeed, to live together afterwards; but their connection, in ſuch a caſe, is no longer natural, but voluntary; and even the family union is then maintained by mutual convention.

This liberty, which is common to all mankind, is the neceſſary conſequence of our very nature, whoſe firſt law being that of ſelf-preſervation, our principal concerns are thoſe which relate to ourſelves; no ſooner, therefore, doth man arrive at years of diſcretion, than he becomes the only proper judge of the means of that preſervation, and of courſe his own maſter.

In a family, then, we may ſee the firſt model of political ſocieties; their chief is repreſented by the father, and the people by his children; while all of them being free, and equal by birth, they cannot alienate their liberty, but for their common intereſt. All the difference between a family and a ſtate lies in this, that, in the former, the love which a father naturally bears to his children is a compenſation for his ſolicitude concerning them; and, in the latter, it is the pleaſure of command that ſupplies the place of this love, which a chief doth not entertain for his people.

Grotius denies that Government is inveſted with power ſolely for the benefit of thoſe who are governed, and cites the caſe of ſlaves as an example. It is, indeed, his conſtant practice, to eſtabliſh the matter of right on the matter of fact. He might have employed a more concluſive method, though not a more favourable one for tyrannical governments.

It is then doubtful, according to Grotius, whether the whole race of mankind, except about an hundred individuals, belong to thoſe individuals, or whether the latter belong

belong to the whole race of mankind; and he appears, throughout his whole work, to lean to the former opinion. This is alſo the opinion of Hobbes. Thus they divide the human ſpecies into herds of cattle, each of which hath its keeper, who protects it from others, only that he may make a property of it himſelf.

As a ſhepherd is of a ſuperior nature to his flock, ſo the herd-keepers of men, or their chiefs, are of a ſuperior nature to the herd, over which they preſide. Such was the reaſoning of the emperor Caligula, who concluded logically enough from this analogy, that either kings were gods, or their ſubjects no better than brutes.

This argument of Caligula bears much reſemblance to thoſe of Hobbes and Grotius. Ariſtotle had ſaid, indeed, before either of them, that men were not naturally equal; but that ſome of them were born to ſlavery, and others to dominion.

Ariſtotle was right as to the fact, but miſtook the effect for the cauſe. Nothing is more certain than that every man born in ſlavery is born to be a ſlave. In ſuch a ſtate, men loſe even the deſire of freedom, and prefer ſubjection, as the companions of Ulyſſes did their brutality. If there are any ſlaves, therefore, by nature, it is becauſe they are ſlaves contrary to nature. Power firſt made ſlaves, and cowardice hath perpetuated them.

I have ſaid nothing of king Adam, or the emperor Noah, father of three monarchs, who, like the children of Saturn, as ſome have imagined them to be, divided the world among them. I hope my moderation alſo in this reſpect will be eſteemed ſome merit; for, as I am deſcended in a right line from one of theſe princes, and probably from the eldeſt branch of the family, how do I know, that by a regular deduction of my deſcent, I might not find

find myſelf the legitimate heir to univerſal monarchy? Be this, however, as it may, it cannot be denied, that Adam had as good a title to the world, when he was the only perſon in it, as Robinſon Cruſoe had to that of his iſland under the ſame circumſtances. A very great conveniency alſo attended their government, in that the monarch might reſt ſecurely on his throne, without fear of wars, conſpiracies, or rebellion!

A NEW SONG,

By Citizen Toon, Jun.

Tune—"Mrs. Caſey."

COME, Britons all, I pray draw near,
And liſt to common reaſon;
I ſhall, devoid of ſlaviſh fear,
Now prove that Truth's no Treaſon.
Thoſe Rights your brave forefathers have,
With ſtore of blood, aſſerted,
Are raviſh'd by a *penſion'd Slave*,
And Liberty's deſerted.

But join your hands, reſiſt, be free,
And quickly claim poſſeſſion
Of your loſt Rights and Liberty,
And overthrow Oppreſſion.

There's Billy Pitt and turncoat Burke
Have long deſerv'd to ſwing, Sir;
Then why defer ſo juſt a work,
To give ſuch rogues the ſtring, Sir?

Shall

Shall hireling knaves in riches roll,
Of place and penſion greedy?
Or, ſhall their ſophiſtry cajole
The *oppreſſed* poor and needy?
Then join your hands, &c.

See Germany and Pruſſia too,
To Liberty degrading,
To work fair Freedom's overthrow,
Brave Gallia's ſons invading:
But Freedom's cauſe ſhall ever ſtand
Unhurt by baſe alliance,
And to each Tyrant's hoſtile hand
Shall bravely hurl defiance.
Then join your hands, &c.

Let Sidney's ſteady ſoul then guide,
And Hampden's courage warm us;
With Truth and Reaſon on our ſide
No Tyrant can diſarm us.
Then like the ſun's enlivening rays
Will Liberty appear, Sir,
And kings, confounded with its blaze,
Shall baſely quake for fear, Sir.

Then join your hands, reſiſt, be free,
And quickly claim poſſeſſion
Of your loſt Rights and Liberty,
And overthrow Oppreſſion.

Politics for the People.

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1794.

A New LITANY, uſed for ſome Sundays paſt at the C——l R——l.

O BARON Eyre, Chief Juſtice of our commiſſion, make for us a new law of treaſon.

O Baron Eyre, &c.

O Grand Jury, finders of the bills, put all the priſoners upon their trial.

O Grand Jury, &c.

O Petty Jury, proceed not according to law, but bring in all the priſoners guilty.

O Petty Jury, &c.

O glorious trinity, three deſcriptions of men, but in one cauſe, get rid of theſe men for us.

O glorious trinity, &c.

Remember all their offences, and the offences of their forefathers; take vengeance of their ſins, ſpare them not, ſpare

ſpare not the people whom we have impriſoned, but ſhed their blood, and deſerve our thanks for ever.

Spare them not, O Jury.

From conventions of the people, and all clubs and ſocieties,

O Jury deliver us.

From Parliamentary Reform, and from enlightening the people,

O Jury, &c.

From peace, diminution of taxes, and paying off the national debt,

O Jury, &c.

From pikes, night bats, and all other deadly weapons,

O Jury, &c.

From ſedition, conſpiracy, and high treaſon, from all new doctrine, hereſy and ſchiſm, from boldneſs of heart, and contempt of our word and commandment,

O Jury, &c.

By the myſtery of law, and diſregarding of facts,

O Jury, &c.

From Hardy, Tooke, Bonney, Kidd, Joyce and Wardle,

O Jury, &c.

From Holcroft, Richter, Moore, Thelwall, Hodgſon, and Baxter,

O Jury, &c.

We beſeech thee, O Parliament, that it may pleaſe thee to rule and govern the kingdom univerſally, in our way.

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Parliament.

That it may pleaſe thee to keep and ſtrengthen, by all kinds of arbitrary acts, thy gracious king and governor.

We beſeech, &c.

That

That it may pleaſe thee to fill his coffers, that he may evermore have affiance in thee, and ever give thy members places and penſions.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to be his defenders and keepers, giving him the victory over all his enemies.

We beſeech thee to hear us, O army and navy.

That it may pleaſe thee to adminiſter to the diſſipations of the Prince of Wales, the avarice of the Queen, and the extravagances of all the Royal Family.

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Parliament.

That it may pleaſe thee to take care of the eſtabliſhment, and keep all biſhops, prieſts and deacons, in the intereſt of our cauſe, that both by their preaching and living they may ſet it forth, and ſhew it accordingly.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to coincide with the Privy Council in all their meaſures.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to keep in order all magiſtrates, giving them power to with-hold juſtice and diſregard truth.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to tax and diſtreſs all the people.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to interfere for us, and diſturb the unity, peace and concord of all nations.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to mould their hearts to dread only us, and diligently to live after our commandments.

We beſeech, &c.

That

That it may pleaſe thee to deny to the people all redreſs of grievances, reject every petition, and ſhew for them no affection.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to bring unto trial all ſuch as oppoſe us.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to ſtrengthen ſuch as ſtand by us, keep up the fears of the Alarmiſts, and beat down all Republicans under our feet.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee again to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus Act, in this time of our danger, neceſſity, and tribulation.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to reſtrain the liberty of the preſs, prohibit all religious or political converſation, and forbid the inſtruction of children.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to leave all the children fatherleſs, and the women widows, by enliſting or kidnapping all the men for ſoldiers.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to deny mercy to all men.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee never to forgive our enemies, but to perſecute and ſlander them with all your hearts.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to monopolize for our uſe all the fruits of the earth, ſo that we alone may enjoy them.

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee, under thy ſanction, to veil all

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our ſins, negligences, and ignorances, and enable us to carry on the war for ever.

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Parliament.

Cætera deſunt.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN,

THE inaccuracy of an article in your laſt number, intitled "Pikes recommended by General [*Hale*, it "ſhould be, and not] *Hall*," induces me to furniſh you and your readers with a little more authentic information on the ſubject, from the General's own pamphlet, publiſhed in 1781, which I happen to have by me.

He calls it "A Letter to the People of England, re-"commending a ſimple, cheap and effectual Method of "defending themſelves and their Country, at this alarm-"ing Juncture:" a French invaſion being, if you recollect, much talked of about that time.—I ſhall confine myſelf to a few extracts, the whole treatiſe being too long to inſert entire in your "Politics," though it might be very proper, perhaps, to republiſh it ſeparately, at a ſmall price, ſince the right of having and uſing arms for ſelf-defence is likely, in conſequence of recent events, to be much diſcuſſed by thoſe whom it moſt concerns.

"In the firſt place," ſays the General, "I lay it down as a fundamental poſition in a free country, the *ſine quâ non*, that *the people ſhould be armed:* without this precaution, all the laws that ever were written are of no conſequence; Locke and Milton have wrote, and Sydney and Hampden have bled in vain; the Bill of Rights and Mag-

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na Charta are mere waſte paper, empty claims, to be trampled upon or thrown into the fire by the firſt invader or tyrant who is ſtrong enough to make his will the law.

" To prove the neceſſity and expediency of arming the people, it will not be amiſs to caſt an eye upon the other powers of Europe; we ſhall ſee France, [it was then a *monarchy*] and Spain and Germany, Ruſſia, Denmark and Sweden groaning under the yoke of a military government. Why? Becauſe the people are unarmed, and there is no proper counterpoiſe to the enormous power of their ſtanding armies. Why are the Americans, why are the Iriſh, why are the Swiſs, why are the Dutch, a free people? Let hiſtory and your own experience tell you. Becauſe they were armed. The people of this country, in former days, were all armed. In Queen Elizabeth's time twelve thouſand men marched out of the town and pariſh of Halifax, to aſſiſt the crown againſt the Earl of Weſtmoreland. I need not recite the perils to which this country has been ſince expoſed, by a diſuſe of this ſalutary right.—Before I proceed any farther, I think it proper to ſay that I am authorized by the law of nature and by the law of the land, in all I aſſert touching the right of the people to carry arms; and my aſſertion may ſuffice till ſome lawyer ſhall take upon him to refute me; which I defy all Weſtminſter-hall to do.

" In ſhort, what I propoſe is a laſting barrier againſt foreign force and internal oppreſſion; for, as an able writer has lately obſerved, the ſecurity, and conſequently the happineſs of a free people, does not conſiſt in their belief, however firm, that the executive power will not attempt to invade their juſt rights, but in their conſciouſneſs that any ſuch attempt would be wholly ineffectual.

" It

"It may be aſked, whether the chief part of my plan is not intended to reſiſt, or at leaſt to awe the government. I cannot anſwer this queſtion better than by aſking another; Does government mean to oppreſs the people? If it does not, it has nothing to fear; if it does, it may and ought to be reſiſted. There may ariſe caſes in which reſiſtance is not rebellion, but a juſt, virtuous and honourable ſelf-defence; and though we had nothing to fear at preſent, no one knows what we may have in future: we have heard of loans, benevolences, and ſhip-money in former reigns; and perhaps in ſome future one, ſome leſs bare-faced, more plauſible, but quite as effectual a mode may be ſtruck out, of taking the people's money out of their pockets without their conſent; and whenever that time arrives, and thoſe who are bound in duty to protect ſhall attempt to enſlave the people, all allegiance will ceaſe, and we ſhall have no other party to take, but to clap one hand upon our pockets, and the other upon our ſwords. A ſhort fable will illuſtrate my meaning. 'A 'boar was whetting his tuſks againſt a tree. What are you 'at, ſays the fox; preparing your arms when there is no 'enemy near? When the enemy is at hand, ſays the boar, 'I ſhall have ſomething elſe to do.'

"But I haſten to the mode of arming the people, becauſe I think the meaſure itſelf becomes every moment more neceſſary, whilſt the winter gives us time to breathe, confines the enemy to their poſts, and delays that retaliation which we may reaſonably expect from their united efforts. Driven thus to the wall, we *muſt* defend ourſelves againſt thoſe whom our miniſters have brought upon us; we muſt be upon the defenſive, (though we have enemies whom we might perhaps with juſtice attack) but whether we attack or defend, we *muſt be armed;* the queſtion is, how? I

anſwer

anſwer with a *knife*, as you are armed already; no alteration is requiſite but in the handle; a common *carving-knife*, with a *bayonet handle*, is all that I eſteem requiſite in the hands of an Engliſhman, to defend his life, his liberty, and his property, provided that he can find a broom-ſtick, or any ſtick at all of a proper length to fix it upon. This little weapon is not only as good as the bayonet, it is as much *better*, as the pole upon which you fix it is longer than the muſket upon which the ſoldiers fix their bayonets; for it muſt be underſtood that the muſket, as a fire-arm, is better not uſed at all by thoſe who have the courage to uſe the bayonet: and upon this ſubject I muſt beg my countrymen to give me a little credit; they credit the prieſt, the phyſician, and the lawyer, in many things of which, for want of reading and experience, they have not very clear ideas; let me hope, then, that in one inſtance at leaſt, they will truſt a ſoldier, and not ſuppoſe, becauſe we ſwear a little now and then, that we will not ſcruple to lye: I advance it, then, as a truth, of which I am thoroughly perſuaded myſelf, that ſuppoſe two armies drawn up oppoſite each other, equal in number, courage and diſcipline, each armed with muſkets and bayonets, whereof the muſkets on one ſide ſhould be loaded with powder and ball, and thoſe on the other not loaded at all, I ſay I have not the leaſt doubt, but that the army making uſe of their bayonets only would prove victorious. This opinion of mine is founded upon that of the greateſt Generals who have lived ſince fire-arms were invented, particularly the Prince of Condé, Charles the Twelfth, and Marſhal Saxe; and I dare ſay it will be ſupported by the Generals of our own time who have had any experience in war, or poſſeſs the knowledge of the human heart. If this poſition is granted me, it follows, that the muſket may be diſ-

penſed

penſed with; that we may throw away a load of uſeleſs wood and iron, and a magazine of powder and ball, and of courſe advance (I wont ſay retreat, becauſe that muſt not be thought of) much faſter than an enemy can retire before us, encumbered as they will be with their arms and ammunition. We may as well have done with our cannon too, when we are about it; they are like the trunk-maker, more noiſe than work, and an army without them would walk round an army who had them to drag. But no more of this at preſent, I proceed to my plan, and propoſe that every man, from the peer to the peaſant, ſhould be provided with this *knife* and the *pole* to fix it upon. I propoſe then a general and armed aſſociation, for the purpoſe of repelling a foreign invader, or reſiſting a domeſtic tyrant. Let the king himſelf, if he approves the plan, be the firſt to give it countenance: let him put arms into the hands of his ſubjects under this expreſs ſtipulation, that they ſhall uſe them againſt himſelf, if he ſhould ever dare to be oppreſſive or unjuſt. Next let the peerage ſign, &c.

"After having put weapons into the hands of my countrymen, I ſhall be aſked, how are they to make uſe of them. To this my anſwer ſhall be as plain as the weapon itſelf, *as plain as a pike-ſtaff:* ſuppoſe a mad dog were running open-mouthed towards a man armed with my weapon, need I ſay that he is to turn the point againſt the animal, and thruſt it down his throat? Every man, of whatever country he may be, who attempts to deprive another of his life, or rob him of his property, ſhould be conſidered as a mad dog, and treated in the ſame manner. It would lead me into too wide a field to treat of the different methods of

forming

forming troops before they engage: I preſume, whenever a people take up arms, they will chuſe men to conduct them who have ſome experience in the art of war, and whoſe courage and integrity may be depended upon: as to the reſt, let them take care to go forth *armed with a good cauſe* as well as a good weapon, and in ſupport of ſuch a cauſe, if they are reſolved to fight, let them *attack* their enemies, and they will have already gained at leaſt half the battle."

By way of frontiſpiece, General Hale exhibits the figure of his propoſed *knife*: from which it appears that the *blade* was to be eleven inches and three quarters in length, and one inch and a quarter broad at the bottom; that the *handle* was to be four inches and a half in length, and one inch in diameter; and that the *haft* was to be eight feet. He produced ſome of the inſtruments at a general county-meeting at York; but, the fear of an invaſion blowing over, and the peaſantry being more inclined to handle the plough or ſpade, than to look at a warlike implement, the ſcheme took no effect. How far it may deſerve to be recommended at preſent, when the bare imagination of ſuch an inſtrument, for the defence of a man's perſon or property is deemed an overt act of high treaſon, I ſhall not pretend to determine.

To this I have only to add, that the General is ſtill living; though, it is highly probable, that, like other great men, his political opinions may not, in 1794, be preciſely the ſame they were in 1781.

Health and fraternity.

RED CAP.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

If the following, or any part, is worth throwing into your trough, you will have more from a

LIBERTY PIG.

Freedom's Stye, Nov. 27.

MUCH has been ſaid in ſupport of the preſent government of this country, and its ſuperlative excellence, compared with any other exiſting, by the whole phalanx of placemen and penſioners, who, by receiving the wages of corruption, are enabled to wallow in luxury and diſſipation, while the greater body of the people are borne down with oppreſſive taxes and a general ſtagnation of trade; the effects of a ruinous and deſtructive war; began and carried on for the purpoſe of *extirpating liberty*, and erecting the *ſtandard of deſpotiſm* throughout the known parts of the terraquaeous globe.

Suppoſe we were to admit the conſtitution of this country to be (which at moſt we can only in theory) unrivalled, would that ſupport an argument it was without defects? Surely not. If then we ſee parts wanting amendment, certainly it would be more judicious to repair immediately ſuch defects as preſent themſelves, than ſuffer the whole by delay to become ſo lacerated, as to make a diſſolution inevitable.—However, I am well aware ſuch reformation never will or can be effected, till we have a free and independent Parliament returned by the majority of the people, and that annually.

It has been the conſtant language of a number of men, who have given proofs of their principles by *their apoſtacy*, ſince they have obtained lucrative places and penſions, the

the ſure reward of ſuch miſcreants as will enter the liſts to ſupport deſpotiſm, and uſe every exertion to extinguiſh the ſpreading flame of liberty, to be laviſh in the praiſe, of what they are pleaſed to call our *glorious conſtitution*, and point out the numerous bleſſings we enjoy, the mildneſs of our laws, the equal diſpenſation of juſtice to rich and poor, which protects both life and property; and to draw a ſtriking contraſt, by preſenting us with a picture of the anarchy and confuſion exiſting in a neighbouring country. This, ſay they, ſhould be a leſſon to the people of every nation, to reſiſt any attempt to introduce the moſt trivial reform in their various governments, leſt they ſhould bring themſelves into the ſame unhappy ſituation.—This ought to be a leſſon to the preſent ruling deſpots, and all their hoſts of corrupt and rapacious ſycophants, and eccleſiaſtical harpies, to relax their preſent oppreſſive ſyſtem, adopted for the moſt nefarious purpoſes, and no longer endeavour to forge fetters to enſlave thoſe who have a right to be free; leſt, when the great body of the people, unfortunately exiſting in and at preſent ſubject to ſuch ſlaviſh governments, awake from their lethargy, they ſhould unanimouſly unite, to rid the world of ſuch atrocious tyrants, in the ſame way, and with the ſame ſucceſs that the diſſimulating and perjured ruler of a late treacherous court, and the major part of his profligate ſatellites ſuffered.—The juſt reward of ſuch execrable monſters!

On the affected Piety of the Great.

IN a late debate on the Sunday Bill, Mr. Wilberforce thought proper to revile the French for introducing *innovations* in religion, for overthrowing the Roman Catholic church,

church, and particularly for their violation of the Sabbath. Was it ignorance, or ſomething worſe, that made this *pious* gentleman totally overlook the ſtate of religion under the old French government? One inſtance from a modern writer, (Zimmerman, in his charming Eſſay on Solitude) will be ſufficient to ſhew how *rationally* and *piouſly* Louis XV. and his court ſpent their ſabbaths. "Returning one SUNDAY to Verſailles, I perceived at a "diſtance a number of people aſſembled upon the terrace "of the caſtle, and on a nearer approach, I beheld Louis "XV. ſurrounded by his COURT, at the windows of his "palace. A man very richly dreſſed, with a large pair "of branching antlers faſtened on his head, whom they "called the STAG, was purſued by about a dozen others, "who compoſe the PACK. The purſued and the purſuers leaped into the grand canal, ſcrambled out again, "and ran about to all parts; while the air reſounded with "acclammations and clapping of hands, to encourage the "continuance of the ſport. What can all this mean? "ſaid I to a Frenchman, who ſtood near me. Sir, he "replied, with a very grave countenance, it is for the "entertainment of the COURT." We truſt Mr. Wilberforce when he again panegyrizes the piety of the popiſh church and deſpotic government of France, will bring forward the above anecdote to illuſtrate his argument.

ON THE PRESENT WAR.

O Why, my country, this diſgrace?
Ah! why with tyrants leagu'd,
To overthrow fair Freedom's baſe,
By Gallia's ſons juſt rear'd?

Shall

Shall Britain now, herſelf once free,
'Gainſt Liberty wage war;
The patriot muſt with horror ſee
Thy curs'd attempts from far.

Then O forbear, ere 'tis too late,
Thy baſe, ungen'rous rage,
Nor raſhly dare contend with Fate,
And ſtain the hiſtoric page

With bloody deeds, that thou'rt the cauſe,
While leagu'd with faithleſs kings,
To overturn thoſe ſacred laws
That firſt from thee did ſpring.

Doſt thou not ſee th' Almighty hand?
He ſure does interpoſe;
Then draw not vengeance on thy land,
And make the heav'ns thy foes.

THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

To the Tune of God Save the King.

TO thee, juſt Guillotine,
Who ſhaves off heads ſo clean,
I tune my ſtring;
Thy pow'r is ſo great,
That ev'ry tool of ſtate
Dreadeth thy mighty weight,
Wonderful thing!

Thy virtues I adore,
That none can do it more,
Can't be ſaid nay;

Thy glorious reign is nigh,
Tyrants in vain ſhall figh;
E'en he who uſes 'ſpy,
When at the play.

Thee Billy Pitt ſhall hail,
Johnny Reeves at his tail,
Pride of our days!
Placemen ſwanlike ſing,
Guillotine, mighty king,
Echoes from crowds ſhall ring
With thy juſt praiſe.

One thing I have to crave,
As I'm your humble ſlave,
Merciful be;
Paul Le Meſurier,
And his man Parrot ſpare;
Whate'er he's bid to ſwear,
For hire does he.

God ſave great Guillotine,
Who ſhaves the head ſo clean
Of Queen or King;
Whoſe pow'r is ſo great,
That ev'ry tool of ſtate
Dreadeth thy mighty weight,
Wonderful thing!!

PATRIOTISM A-LA-MODE.

AT court the great ones jar and quarrel,
Like tinkers o'er a ſtrong beer barrel:
For as they ſtruggle, when they're mellow,
Who is the ſtrongeſt, ſtouteſt fellow,

Their worſhips, lordſhips, and their graces,
Contend for penſions and high places;
Each ſtriving, in his gainful poſt,
Who 'tis ſhall cheat the nation moſt.
The fav'rites hover round the throne,
And joſtle one another down;
Each envies t'other riſing man,
And plays at *catch knave* if he can;
To lift him from his lofty ſtation,
And take his turn to cheat the nation.

S. W.

On the extreme Cruelty of our Laws.

For all crimes being hurtful to the ſtate, their frequent commiſsion ought to be carefully prevented, and the increaſe of them is an ALARMING SYMPTOM OF POLITICAL DECLINE.

TURNER on Crimes and Puniſhments, p. 303, vol. 2 of Mancheſter Memoirs.

WITH what ſenſations, fellow citizens! can we read this *alarming* truth; with what ſorrow muſt we ſee and read of the numbers who are doomed to the inhoſpitable ſhores of Botany Bay and to death, when we reflect on the diſmal cauſe, *political decline!*

When we look forward to the riſing generation, muſt we not ſee the neceſſity of REFORM? Or can parents conſent to permit their offspring to be the unfortunate victims of their folly and cowardice? But this *ſurely* Britons can never ſuffer.

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1794.

BROTHER GRUNTER,

Coming down the Strand one evening, in Auguſt laſt, I ſtepped on one ſide for certain purpoſes, which matter not to you, or the Publie, and hearing a mournful noiſe at a houſe, I enquired whoſe it was; being informed it belonged to the head Prince of all Spies and Informers, French Emigrant Prieſts, as well as Engliſh, I liſtened, and heard the following Soliloquy and Conſultations. If of any uſe to you, I beg you will make free with it.

Your's,

A young Boar.

SOLILOQUY.

JOHN R——V——S, alone.

ALAS! how wretched, how tormented am I! My days are made miſerable by anxious care; my nights paſſed in agonizing ſlumbers!———My crimes!——Ah! my crimes!

crimes!—but of them I dare not think!——my penſions I mean.—Conſcience again checks me, and aſks, how did you come by them?—It anſwers, by ſelling the happineſs of thouſands of my fellow-citizens:—by—by——but I will not think:—I cannot, I dare not reflect!—Lay ſtill, fooliſh conſcience: Why, for you, ſhould I leave ſo *virtuous* a work half finiſhed?—Shall my brothers in iniquity ſay *I* want courage?—No! I will proceed; I will go on, and fill my meaſure, yea, until it runs over!—I will endeavor to outdo the *blackeſt* of dæmons!—To diſpel theſe gloomy thoughts, and frightful miſbodings, I will call the much valued friend and counſellor of myſelf and P–tt. Come to my aſſiſtance, thou ſweet comforter of the unjuſt; come, King of Hell, give me ſome joy; I want both that and your advice.

Enter the DEVIL.

Dev. Did you call, my pupil? I am ever ready to attend thee. No ſooner does the *melliſluent* voice of John R—v–s aſſail my ears, than I fly. Sure he has fulfilled my orders. How many of the juſt, of thoſe wretches who *fooliſhly* love their Country, have you thrown into priſon? How many witneſſes have you ſuborned? Tell me:—Why do you look ſo dull?—Are you not well?

J. R. Dear maſter, I and your other liege ſubjects have filled the priſons; we have put all the plots into execution which you ordered, ſave the *pop-gun* one; but we have men ready to ſwear to it: the reſt have ſucceeded. Ere long we mean to ſacrifice the virtuous at your ſhrine, and glut our fondeſt deſires with the blood of thouſands! I think I hear the wife crying for her huſband; the father for his ſon! I ſee their tears; I hear their groans! Enchanting ſound! delightful ſight! Can PANDÆMONIUM afford

afford higher comforts than theſe? Soon we ſhall ſee the wretches expiate their love of Liberty and human happineſs at the end of a rope!—How tedious do the moments paſs, until the wiſhed-for hour arrives!—The witneſſes are ready; they have been inſtructed what to ſay; our juries are ſummoned;—proper ones; or at leaſt we have taken all poſſible means to get proper ones.—*I hope they will not diſappoint us*;—*we* believe them to be as good as thoſe we had in Scotland;—all of our own ſort;—we have but to ſhew them your enchanting metal, and they obey,

Dev. All is right then;—you ſhall have more penſions.——Why do you look ſo dull?—you have not told me.

J. R. I am not dull—and yet I am.—It proceeds from a fooliſh dream.——I dreamed laſt night, that Virtue was *triumphant*; all our plots were *fruſtrated;* that the *Juries* were *honeſt;* and we were deſerted by you, and of courſe by our only friend, our father, our comforter; that has hung heavy on my mind. But the ſight of you diſpels my fears, and again makes me hurl defiance at Juſtice.

Dev. (*aſide*). Didſt thou but know how nigh thy fate is; what a warm corner I have prepared for you; and how ſoon you will be for ever with me, you would fear indeed. (*To him*). Ha! ha! ha! I thought you had been too well convinced of my ſincerity and affection, to be terrified at dreams;—none but the honeſt fear.—It becomes not a ſubject of hell to be dull, while black plots are putting in execution. It is time enough for that when man is determined to be upright; which *cannot* be the caſe while I have ſubjects ſo *obedient*, ſo *dutiful*, and ſo *aſſiduous*, as you, Billy, Harry, and Paul;—you have already

already gained thouſands over to me, both at home and abroad. I will, after theſe plots are finiſhed, give you more; and a method of raiſing more money, and of courſe more penſions for you. Do as I bid you, and you need not fear.

J. R. Perhaps you have not heard ſome of our friends have been ill-treated; their houſes pulled down:—the poor crimps ſcarce got off with their lives.

Dev. I know it; but that you ſhall ſoon ſtop. Take up the firſt *innocent* man you meet; your brother S——s ſhall preſide as judge, and you know he never will flinch.

J. R. But there is a Jury; they may be honeſt.

Dev. You take care and inſtruct the witneſſes; they muſt give their verdict accordingly; or take them up alſo. You are ſecure;—we have ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus Act;—if you act firmly, the Jury muſt decide accordingly;—you inſtruct the witneſſes, and S——— will do the reſt.

J. R. True, true; all will end well, I ſee. I will go on, and try if I cannot outrival even George and Pitt;—I will merit your favor as much they do. (*A loud rap at the door*) Huſh! I hear a knocking!—Some friends!—More news, I hope!—They are Spies and Informers.

Dev. Adieu!—I ſhall away;—we ſoon ſhall meet again.

Exit DEVIL.

SKIN-

SKINNER, Mayor.

A COMMON COUNCIL holden in the Chamber of the GUILDHALL, of the City of London, on Thurſday the 4th of December, 1794.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

That the thanks of this Court be given to the Rt. Hon. Paul Le Meſurier, late Lord Mayor of this City, for his unremitting attention and zeal in execution of the various duties of that high and important office, for the magnificence and truly liberal hoſpitality with which he ſuſtained that exalted ſtation, eſpecially in the reception he gave to a moſt noble commander of the Britiſh Forces, who by his victories and conqueſts in the Eaſt, has added to the fame of Engliſhmen, and victory to the Sovereign, and more eſpecially for his unbounded and unceaſing benevolence to the many objects that appeared before him as Chief Magiſtrate, and particularly to the Widows, Wives, and Children of our Soldiers and Seamen who now are fighting for the honor of their King and Country; for his exertions in general for the good of the poor and of his fellow Citizens; for his manly firmneſs in defending the Liberty of the Subject, and attachment to the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, for the prudent, wiſe, and effectual meaſures which he purſued at the hazard of his life, in quelling a moſt dangerous riot, and thereby preſerving the peaceable inhabitants of this City from plunder, rapine, and murder, and in the language of a truly reſpectable Chief Baron, "obtaining a bloodleſs victory over anarchy and confuſion," for the ready and willing acceſs given to every degree of his fellow Citizens; for the ſteady, polite, and able conduct ſhewn in preſiding over the debates of this Court, and the readineſs with which he aſſembled the Citizens together upon every important occaſion; and for his uniform and affable behaviour, ſhewing at one view the Magiſtrate and Gentleman.

RIX.

GUTTLE, Mayor.

A COMMON COUNCIL, holden in the Chamber of the Court of *Humbug* of the City of Gotham, the 4th of December, 1794.

Reſolved

Reſolved unanimouſly,

That the thanks of this *wiſe* Court, according to annual cuſtom, be given to the ſtill *more* wiſe Rt. Hon. Paul Stupid, late Lord Mayor of this City, for his *over aſſiduous* attention and *extra-ordinary* zeal in the execution of that high and important office, for the magnificence and truly *Epicurean* hoſpitality with which he ſuſtained that exalted ſtation, *eſpecially* for the crimped cods heads, gudgeons, pikes, turtle, veniſon, ham, beef, mutton, geeſe, ducks, fowls, &c. &c. Burgundy, champaigne, claret, &c. &c. which he gave, at the expence of the City, while thouſands were in a ſtate of ſtarvation, to a moſt Noble Commander of the Gothamites Arms, who by his rapine and plunder, has laid waſte fertile plains, murdered millions of inoffenſive inhabitants, whoſe country he invaded, and tyrannically took poſſeſſion of, and thereby added to the *fame* of the People of Gotham, and territory to the Sovereign; more eſpecially for his *unbounded* and *unceaſing* benevolence to the many Crimps, Spies, Informers and PERJURED French Prieſts who appeared before him as Chief Magiſtrate, and particularly to the Widows and Orphans of the Soldiers and Seamen who have been murdered in the ſtruggle betwixt Liberty and Deſpotiſm, for the *honor* of their King and Country; for his exertions in general for the good of Ariſtocracy, and depriving his fellow Citizens of their Rights, for his *manly firmneſs* in ordering his minions, ILLEGALLY, to take the books from out of the ſhop of a *lone defenceleſs* woman, for taking up, WITHOUT A WARRANT, peaceable Citizens while dining at a Tavern, thereby *defending* the Liberty of the Subject, and the Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms; for the *prudent*, *wiſe*, and *effectual* meaſures which he purſued at the aforeſaid Court of *Humbug*, where the Citizens were called to aſſert

aſſert their Rights and Privileges, and *particularly for his running away* at the hazard of his Life, thereby ſhewing his WISDOM, according to the idea of a truly reſpectable Poet.

" He that fights and runs away,
" May live to fight another day."

For his *ready* calling out the Military in June laſt, when the houſes of divers of the peaceable inhabitants of this city, were deſtroyed, their windows broken, and their lives endangered by the *Church and King Mob*, for his declining to call them out when the *juſtly* enraged Cit ens were revenging themſelves on the hell-born Crimps, for the ready and willing acceſs given to every Court Sycophant, and ſupporter of oppreſſion, for his uniform Jeſuitical behaviour, ſhewing at one view *the petty Tyrant and the abject Slave;* in fine, we thank him for doing every thing —BUT HIS DUTY.

RUFFINI.

ON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

THE ancient conſtitution of this kingdom, as framed by our forefathers, was as perfect a model of a free government, as human wiſdom could poſſibly deviſe. The chief principles of it were ſimple and manifeſt, and fixed, as far as any truths could be fixed, in the minds of men, by the cleareſt and moſt determinate ideas. It was a plain and direct contract between the Prince and the people; and it took all imaginable care, that the Prince ſhould not break the contract with the people, by its veſting the legiſlative, or ſupreme power in three eſtates, of which

which the King is but one. And whilſt the other two preſerved their own proper independency, they were a ſufficient controul upon the firſt; for the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Kings could not endanger the liberties of the people, whilſt the people had honeſt parliaments. And to make and keep parliaments honeſt, all elections of members to ſit in them were, by our conſtitution, to be perfectly free; and further, to preſerve the honeſty of parliaments, their ſitting was, by our conſtitution, to be very ſhort; and accordingly our forefathers elected repreſentatives annually. And further, to make parliaments honeſt, no perſon could formerly be choſen either a Knight of the Shire, a Citizen, or a Burgeſs, without being reſident in the particular county, city, or borough, for which he ſtood candidate: and as a further ſecurity, that they ſhould not betray the truſt repoſed in them, the counties, cities, and boroughs, which they repreſented, were obliged to bear their expences. By theſe wiſe founders of our conſtitution, the repreſentatives of the people were kept honeſt and true to their truſts; and whilſt they were ſo, they always procured a redreſs of the people's grievances, before they granted away their money to the crown. And ſometimes, when the Sovereign required any extraordinary aid from them, they would anſwer, that they could not comply therewith, before they had a receſs into their ſeveral counties, and had conſulted with their conſtituents. In ſhort, whilſt the conſtitution remained uncorrupted, and the repreſentatives of the people were honeſt, Engliſhmen were in fact a free people, becauſe they were then governed by laws of their own making.

This, Sir, was our conſtitution:—but how changed! how corrupted! how deformed is it now become! Every eſſential, relative to the repreſentative of the people, is totally

totally inverted! You will ſcarcely find any one original parliamentary feature remaining in the face of them. Inſtead of Members being freely elected by the people as formerly, you will ſee them choſen by the mandates of the Miniſter; you will ſee them elected by open bribery and corruption, not only by the money of private perſons, but by the treaſure of the public alſo; you will ſee them elected, or rather nominated, by the undue and powerful influence of peers; and you may have ſeen a member appointed, without any colour of election, even by parliament itſelf. Inſtead of the people's having an annual choice of their repreſentatives, as formerly, (and which was a great means of keeping them honeſt) they have now an election of them only every ſeven years. Inſtead of members actually reſiding in the particular places for which they are choſen, as formerly, you will now ſee repreſentatives elected for places, where their very faces are not ſo much as known; and inſtead of the repreſentative receiving wages from the people for ſerving for them in Parliament, as formerly, they now give the people immenſe ſums to elect them, and run out their fortunes in procuring ſeats in Parliament.

Thus, Sir, you ſee, that all the antient and conſtitutional methods of electing repreſentatives to ſerve in parliament, are totally inverted; and you will find that their actions, when there, are as much inverted alſo. Upon their meeting together, they are yet welcomed by a gracious ſpeech from the throne, and which is always made by the miniſter, as well as the anſwer thereto, as the one is the very echo of the other; and in which ſpeech money is always wanted, and in which anſwer it is always granted: for our repreſentatives, inſtead of beginning their ſeſſion, as formerly, with redreſſing the grievances of

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the People, always begin it now by granting away their money; and as to the grievances of the People, they are left to the People themſelves to redreſs. Inſtead of enquiring into the application of the money given by the People, if there be ever ſo great a deficiency, and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that ſuch deficiency was occaſioned by the fouleſt and moſt injurious miſapplication of the public money by the miniſter, it is now always made up and ſupplied without ſuffering any enquiry to be made into it. Indeed, the miniſter, ſoon after the meeting of the People's Repreſentatives in Parliament, hath now the preſumption to nominate and appoint ſome one of his dependants, under the unconſtitutional appellation of *Manager of the Houſe;* and all their ſubſequent actions ſhew, they are perfectly under ſuch management: ſo that they may be more truly called the creatures of the miniſter, than the Repreſentatives of the People. All the great and neceſſary eſſentials of a Repreſentative in Parliament, the People have loſt. The form of them only remains. Upon the whole, our Conſtitution may now be properly compared to a painted, proſtitute ſtrumpet, or to a fine ſculptured marble ſepulchre, which looks fair enough without ſide, but is full of corruption and rottenneſs within; and certainly is, from being the beſt in the world, become the worſt.

OLD ENGLAND.

The Humble PETITION of the poor Families of the Pariſh of CURCESTON,

To the Right Hon. William ——, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Warden

Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover Caſtle, Elder Brother of the Trinity-Houſe, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Member of Parliament for that City, and Commiſſioner for the Management of Eaſt India Affairs; Brother to the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, Couſin to Lord Grenville, Secretary of State, &c. &c. &c.

Submiſſively ſetteth forth,

THAT your Petitioners, in the plaintive tones of diſtreſs, beg to repreſent, that their miſeries have been conſiderably augmented by a violation of their hereditary and inherent rights, ſince your immaculate honor has done them the favor to take up your reſidence among them. They cannot, in juſtice to themſelves, their wives, children, and poſterity, avoid expreſſing their alarm, and feeling, at ſuch right honorable procedure.

We wiſh you to reflect, when you have leiſure for ſuch *trifling* conſiderations, on the immutable principles of juſtice, on the relative duties of man; and then recollect, your Petitioners once contentedly enjoyed the full rights of commonage, an advantage that enabled us to cheer our ſolitary cottages with the renovating warmth of turf fires, during the dark nights and rigorous cold of winter, and appropriated the modicum of our hard-earned wages we are now obliged to ſpend for coal, in treating our numerous offſpring with ſome wholeſome comfort of more delicacy than the coarſe bread and cheeſe we are neceſſitated to feed them with.

We do not deny, that your honor gives *ten pounds* a year to the farmers of our pariſh, by way of ſilence money,

ney, which you desire them to divide equally, and thereby mitigate the rigors of the burdensome taxes imposed upon them; and though this open censure of the evil effects of your administration from another hand might cause uneasiness, in this case the advantage of your private concerns overbalances the stigma of your public character, as you know your estate may remain when your ministry is no more, a period we ardently pant for, that the ravages of ambition may be confined to the small extent of our neighborhood, rather than let loose to the destruction of patriotic Frenchmen, and the imprisonment of noble Britons, who prefer the welfare, peace, and happiness of Old England, to the mercenary administration of an ignorant rapacious horde.

By this liberal, disinterested donation, you have silenced the rich farmers, who, without emotion or concern, see you hourly diminish the few blessings we have; your honor has already nibbled away by small parcels so much of our common, that your inclosure amounts to upwards of twenty acres of ground; this you have effected in the course of four years: and if your *justice* and *humanity* proceed in such hasty strides, at the expiration of eight years more the poor husbandry, and their generation, will be deprived of the remaining forty acres; and our children may sigh and say, "what was once a common, appropriated to the occasions and necessities of a distressed "peasantry, is now converted into pleasure-grounds, devoted to lordly Aristocracy."

Your honorable conduct passes not without repeated marks of disapprobation, as your darling shrubbery is repeatedly destroyed (though, by the bye, we trust your honor will not impute such scandalous behaviour to your half-starved Petitioners). No, your honor! we suppose

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it ariſes from the revengeful diſpoſition of thoſe bold and daring laborers employed in your grounds, who are raſh enough to complain that you keep them out of their money for three months. The neighbors obſerve the art and wiſdom you ſhew in taking none but ſingle men into your ſervice, knowing that large families could not go without their poor pittance of ten ſhillings a week for a length of time ſufficient to give your honor an opportunity of making an intereſt of their wages, and ſhew your excellent abilities as a financier.

You certainly ſhould not withhold the payment of their money, aſſured as you are, that they perform their contract; for your honor riſes at five o'clock in the morning to ſee their labor is begun; and will even neglect the *inſignificant* concerns of a nation, to attend to the more *important* affairs of a ſhrubbery.

We view with ſatisfaction this delightful retreat of the greateſt miniſters (meaning your honor and honeſt Harry Dundas) this, or any other kingdom, ever produced, from the days of Jack the Giant Killer, to the univerſally beloved, and Solomonically wiſe Monarch of the preſent time, *George Gwuelph, King of Great Britain and Corſica;* we contemplate the improvements with pleaſure; and though we ſee your drunken, gormandizing orgies with ſober joy, and without envy, yet we cannot but wiſh you would condeſcend to imitate the conduct of your worthy neighbor Sir Peter Burrel, who believes nobility ſuffers no diſgrace by relieving the ſurrounding poor twice a week, and thinks it little leſs than injuſtice to wallow in ſuperfluities whilſt his naked neighbors are abſolutely deprived of internal comfort, or external covering. The noble Baronet imitates, and glories in practiſing, the hoſpitable laws eſtabliſhed by his anceſtry. His houſe is the ſeat

of

of temperate feſtivity, where ſervants (conſidered as humble friends) are empowered, by their lord's liberality, to cheer viſiting friendſhip with the venerable ſir-loin, and its concomitant nut-brown October. But your honor's domeſtics have no ſuch advantage.—Narrow board-wages, indifferently paid, admit of no ſuch hoſpitality.

In hopes your honor will, on reflection, find it not unworthy or unmanly to be attentive to the cries of the unfortunate, we truſt on conſideration you will endeavor to repair our loſs, if not from your private purſe, from the exchequer hoard, and thereby prove yourſelf a *heaven-born miniſter* indeed, and not a *hell-engendered plunderer* of the poor peaſantry of Curceſton!

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

Signed by SIX HUNDRED Laborers.

DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS.

WHEN earth, and ſea, and vaulted ſkies
Did from their native chaos riſe,
And men, and birds, and beaſts, and worms,
And fiſh, of various tribes and forms,
Were made, upon the earth to dwell,
And all the world was peopl'd well,
Our great Creator gave to all
His creatures on this earthly ball
A right divine—to men to talk,
To birds to fly, to beaſts to walk,
To fiſh to ſwim, to worms to crawl:—
He likewiſe gave a right to all

To

To ſeek their food, and to provide
For every other want beſide;—
To propagate, and to increaſe,
Leſt any tribe in life ſhould ceaſe.
But then our Maker did foreſee
A very numerous progeny
Of every tribe would have a birth,
And ſhortly overſtock the earth.
Now, ſuch a miſchief to prevent,
Amongſt the diff'rent tribes he ſent
Voracious beaſts, birds, fiſh of prey,
In ſea, on earth, in air, to ſtray;
But none amongſt the human race
Were ſent to ſtop their faſt increaſe:
So when the world was crouded ſo
With men they had not room to ſtow,
It rain'd a deluge from the ſkies,
And ſwept them off, that more might riſe.
To ſerve the end, and to prevent
So dread, ſo awful an event,
From ever taking place again,
A certain tribe of tiger men,
Or two legg'd beaſts of prey—thoſe things,
Thoſe cruel, horrid monſters—kings,
A high permiſſion have obtain'd,
And are with right divine ordain'd,
To prey on men—in blood to wade—
Death and deſtruction is their trade;
And they have learn'd to trade in blood
So well, that never will a flood
Be needful to deſtroy again,
And ſweep away a world of men.

When for a breakfaſt or a dinner,
To make the world a little thinner,
Kings will a thouſand lives deſtroy,
Their ſtomachs are not known to cloy;
They take the ſweet, delicious bite
With juſt as keen an appetite,
With ſuch a reliſh and delight,
As would a wolf a lambkin ſwallow,
And long to make another follow.
Juſt ſo with ———. When breakfaſt's o'er,
Or dinner's done, they long for more;
Deſtruction only is their law,
With hungry paunch and ravenous maw,
Carnage and blood is all their cry,
And twice ten thouſand more muſt die.
This is the work which Monarchs do,
And God permits it ſhould be ſo:
Then ſurely God's permiſſion muſt
Be right divine—and Kings are juſt.
A petty murderer God permits
Until his neck a halter fits:—
He has a right divine till taken,
And then his rights won't ſave his bacon.
But there's another right from God,—
A right divine for ſhedding blood;
Self-preſervation;—every creature
Is taught by God—the God of nature—
Reſiſtance is a righteous cauſe,
And ſanction'd by th' Almighty's laws.—
When Deſpots fall, and Tyrants bleed,
The God of heav'n approves the deed.

Politics for the People.

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1794.

A New Creed, uſed on Chriſtmas Day in all Churches and Chapels throughout his Majeſty's Dominions, inſtead of the Creed of St. Athanaſius.

WHOSOEVER will get a place, it is neceſſary, before all things, that he hold the true political faith.

Which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, he ſhall everlaſtingly be deemed a Jacobin.

And the true political faith is, that we worſhip one government in trinity, and trinity in unity.

Neither confounding the orders, nor dividing the power. For there is one order of the king, another order of the lords, and another order of the commons.

But the power of the king, lords, and commons, is all one, the *immaculacy* equal, the ſupremacy co-exiſting.

Such as the king is, ſuch is the houſe of lords, and ſuch is the houſe of commons.

The

The king uncreated by the people, the houſe of lords uncreated by the people, and the houſe of commons uncreated by the people.

The king incomprehenſible, the houſe of lords incomprehenſible, and the houſe of commons incomprehenſible.

The king *incorruptible*, the houſe of lords *incorruptible*, and the houſe of commons *incorruptible*.

And yet they are not three incorruptibles, but one incorruptible.

So alſo they are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehenſibles, but one uncreated, and one incomprehenſible.

So likewiſe the king is taxer, the houſe of lords is taxer, and the houſe of commons is taxer.

And yet they are not three taxers, but one taxer.

So alſo the king is governor, the houſe of lords is governor, and the houſe of commons is governor.

And yet not three governors, but one governor.

So the king is abſolute, the houſe of lords is abſolute, and the houſe of commons is abſolute.

And yet not three abſolutes, but one abſolute.

For like as we are compelled by the true political faith, to acknowledge every order by itſelf to be abſolute and governor,

So we are forbidden by our *glorious conſtitution* to ſay that there be three abſolutes, or three governors.

The king is made by none, neither created nor elected, but reigns in *contempt of the people*.

So the lords are of the king alone, neither made nor created by the people.

The houſe of commons are of the king and the lords, not made or created by the people, but proceeding from the other powers.

So there is one king, not three kings; one houſe of lords,

lords, not three houſes of lords ; one houſe of commons, not three houſes of commons.

And in this trinity none is before or after the other ; none is more pure, or leſs corrupt than the other.

But the whole three are *uncorrupt* together, and *immaculate* together.

So that in all things, as is aforeſaid, this unity in trinity, and this trinity in unity, ought to be worſhipped.

He, therefore, that would get a place, muſt thus think of this trinity.

Furthermore, it is neceſſary to the promotion of his intereſts, that he believe rightly concerning the inſtitution of the houſe of lords :

For the right faith is, that we confeſs, that the houſe of lords are kings and people, people and kings.

Kings, as legiſlating by hereditary ſucceſſion ; people, as poſſeſſing almoſt all the landed property of the nation.

Perfect kings, and perfect men, as *inheriting wiſdom*, and poſſeſſing wealth.

Equal to the king, as touching their poſſeſſions ; inferior to the king, as not wearing crowns.

Who, although they be kings and people, are yet not two, but one order.

One, not by converting their wealth into power ; but by adding power to their wealth.

One altogether ; by not being ſubject to election, but continuing by ſucceſſion.

The guardians of the kingdom, the ornaments of the country, and the Corinthian capitals of poliſhed ſociety.

Who, in the days of anarchy, ſuffered for our ſins, were aboliſhed and conſigned over to oblivion ; but roſe again, after a ſhort time, from their annihilation.

They re-aſcended their ſeats in their ancient houſe ;

and

and now ſit around the king as uncorrupt adminiſtrators of juſtice, ſuperior to all other courts of judicature.

To whom all men are liable to render an account of their works; and to whom all men are bound implicitly to ſubmit.

They that bend willingly to the yoke ſhall be rewarded with places; and they that kick againſt it, ſhall be tried for high treaſon.

This is the true political faith; which, except a man believe faithfully, he ſhall never get a place.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the following worthy a place in your Repoſitory, the inſertion of it will greatly oblige

A REPUBLICAN.

THE REPUBLICAN's CREED.

I Believe in the ſovereignty of the people.

I believe in the equality of man.

I believe that all men, being by nature free, have an undoubted right to liberty.

I believe the origin of kings to be this; That, in the infancy of the world, the relations of men becoming complicated, to maintain order among them it became neceſſary to eſtabliſh laws, and appoint a chief to enforce thoſe laws. Such I believe to be the origin of kings. Choſen by and from among the people, to be their guardian and protector.

Moreover, I believe, that if nature had ever intended that the ſon of the perſon thus choſen, and his ſon's ſons, ſhould be entitled to the ſovereign dignity after him,

ſhe would have endowed them with all thoſe virtues, which a man, deſtined to govern millions, ought to poſſeſs; and, this not being the caſe, I believe all hereditary power to be an uſurpation, and that every nation has an undoubted right to change or take away their king, and eſtabliſh that form of government which to them ſeems beſt calculated to promote their happineſs.

A Letter of Thanks from the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, *to the Right Honourable* THOMAS SKINNER, *Lord Mayor of London, for his Lordſhip's upright Conduct in diſpenſing with Military Attendance on a late Occaſion.*

London, Nov. 28, 1794.

My Lord,

ACCEPT our Thanks for your laudable conduct in oppoſing the attendance of a *Military Force*, during the preſent Trials for High Treaſon: ſuch conduct, we truſt, *ariſes from* an averſion to that ſyſtem of Terror, which, though of late years but too prevalent, is utterly repugnant to the true principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

This Addreſs is not ſent to you, my Lord, for the purpoſe of exhibiting any ill-will or diſreſpect for the *Regulars*, or from any reſentment againſt the miſconduct of ſome Members of the Volunteer Corps:—on the contrary, we are ſenſible the ſervice which you have ſuppreſſed was not more odious to the good Citizen than to the good Soldier. Our only wiſh is to expreſs the pleaſure which we feel in anticipating the effects which your conduct has a tendency to produce.

The

The conduct of Magiſtrates operates not only on the individuals who happen to become the immediate objects of their authority:—the influence of that conduct extends through the whole Community.

When authority is veſted in weak zealots, or the ſervile dependants of a Miniſter, partial adminiſtration ſoon ſubverts all confidence in the Laws, and when the Injured are awed into ſilence, even ſlight grievances are productive of the moſt rancorous reſentment; which naturally ſtimulates illegal exertions, in proportion as the ſufferers have loſt the hope of legal Redreſs.

Widely different is the ſtate of Society where the good Magiſtrate, with parental care, endeavours to allay animoſity, to compoſe differences, and diffuſe that amity and mutual confidence which form the ſtrongeſt ſocial bond:—if the miſconduct of others ſhould provoke popular indignation, he will provide in the moſt cautious and inoffenſive mode againſt the poſſible event of public tumults, rather than excite them by impertinently excluding Citizens from the public ſtreets by *Martinets* armed with fixed bayonets.

Such, my Lord, are the marks of an officious hireling: and ſuch the Characteriſtics of a wiſe and upright Adminiſtrator of the Laws.

We flatter ourſelves the fair form of Juſtice will again be ſeen in the Civic Chair: and amidſt other objects of felicitation, on which we do not think it would be proper to publiſh our ſentiments, pending the preſent Trials, we cannot but congratulate the Inhabitants of this great City on ſo agreeable a proſpect:—for ourſelves in particular, we truſt that our determined perſeverance in the purſuit of equal Repreſentation, will be free from thoſe lawleſs interruptions which we have formerly experienced; and

that,

that, while our conduct is legal, an upright Magiſtrate will not withhold from us the PROTECTION of the LAWS.

Signed in the Name, and by Order of the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY,

ANTHONY BECK, Preſident.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, London.

From my Stye of Oppreſſion.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

READING this afternoon the laſt number but one of the Politics for the People, I received much uſeful information from your Correſpondent Red Cap, which has induced me to offer ſome few hints of my own, to ſhew, or at leaſt ſo it appears to me, the neceſſity of IMMEDIATELY arming the People.

I very much admire the idea of *Pikes*. I think them the *beſt* weapons that a nation can be armed with, *particularly* as they are the cheapeſt inſtruments, and the moſt eaſily uſed. Every man can handle them; there is no time loſt, with make ready, preſent, fire. With them a man is well armed at one minute's warning, and if the people are *determined* to fight, all the muſkets, artillery, and broad-ſwords in France could not ſtand againſt them.

My reaſons for IMMEDIATELY arming are many, and I think very ſtrong ones; thoſe dreadful fellows, the Carmagnols, talk about a ſecret expedition, which in my opinion can mean againſt no other place than this country; for Tallien, on the fourteenth of laſt November, a day I *never* ſhall forget, ſaid, they muſt join the Dutch and Spaniſh navies to thoſe of France, and come up to the banks of the Thames, &c. It would be dreadful indeed, if

theſe

theſe *King-killing* monſters ſhould invade our LAND OF LIBERTY, the very ſtreets of which *flow* with milk and honey, and we be unarmed. Perhaps it may be mere talk, but *I am alarmed*, and think it better to be in readineſs, in caſe they ſhould take it in their heads to come. Our miniſters ſeem to be ſo ignorant, ſo totally unfit for their ſituations, that I cannot place any confidence in them.

Indeed, if this account of the loan *be true*, I think that alſo a reaſon why we ſhould arm, to preſerve our *glorious* and *happy* conſtitution, particularly as the prime miniſter has taken Duke Fitz-James into pay. I *fear* he may intend to put him on the throne, and he has been uſing all theſe illegal and unconſtitutional meaſures to irritate the people againſt the preſent government, and ſo make them join a deſcendant of the *infamous Stuarts*. I by no means ſay poſitively ſuch are his intentions, but of this I am certain, he cannot have acted as he has done to *attach us to it*; far from it.

His bringing the well-known patriots to trial, has proved we have a *right* to be armed with any weapons we pleaſe for our ſelf-defence; and ſurely we cannot have *ſtronger* reaſons, than the fear of a foreign invaſion on one hand, and the Pretender's intereſt on the other. Let me tell you, fellow Citizen, theſe are ſerious conſiderations to a reflective mind, and call for the exertion of every individual. I am at a loſs to know what other *illegal* meaſures the miniſter may intend to bring forward the enſuing ſeſſions. If he knows we *are* armed, and in defence of our *Rights and Liberties*, he will be backward in trampling on John Bull, and treating him with more contempt than he has already done. I confeſs he is a very patient animal, by far *too* patient, and will bear a great deal; he has, to his diſgrace, ſhewn it; but it is no reaſon he ſhould *al-*

ways

ways remain ſo: he is like a cord, can bear to be pulled very tight, but breaks of a *ſudden* with *violence*.

Such are my reaſons for wiſhing *all the true lovers of Liberty to arm;* firſtly, for fear of a foreign Invaſion; ſecondly, for fear of Duke Fitz-James's intentions; thirdly, and the *moſt* important of all, for fear our *few* remaining rights ſhould be taken away, by a HAUGHTY, OVER-BEARING, TYRANNICAL, and SANGUINARY MINISTER.

One of the loweſt Order of Swine.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

In the courſe of my reading I have met with the following fable, and if it merits a place in your valuable paper, it is much at your ſervice.

Dec. 10. 1794. R. B.

The Danger of exorbitant Taxes; a Fable.

IT is the ſovereign will of *Kings* that kingdoms ſhould groan, but they will not groan for ever in vain. The period of national evils may come ſlowly; but let the wretched and the oppreſſed remember, that moſt aſſuredly it will come. We are going to relate a fable: let the *taxed hear*, and the *taxers liſten*.

Towards the beginning of the world there was a vaſt foreſt of citron-trees, that bore the moſt beautiful, large, and pleaſant fruit. The branches bent under their burdens, and the air far round was embalmed with their fragrant odour. The impetuous winds chanced to blow down ſeveral citrons, and to break ſome of the branches; certain travellers paſſing that way, quenched their thirſt with the

the juice of the fruit, and caſt away the rind. This accident induced the race of citron-trees to chooſe guardians, who where to drive away paſſengers and to incloſe the foreſt with high walls, to oppoſe the fury of the winds. Theſe guardians appeared at firſt faithful and diſintereſted; but they ſoon found that ſuch hard labour produced a violent thirſt; they therefore made this propoſition to the citrons: Gentlemen, we are ready to periſh by thirſt in labouring for you; permit us to make a ſmall inciſion in each of you, that we may have a drop of liquor to refreſh our parched throats; you will not be poorer, and we and our children ſhall thereby acquire freſh ſtrength for your ſervice.

The credulous citrons thought this requeſt not unreaſonable, and ſubmitted to the imperceptible contribution. But what was the conſequence! When the inciſion was once made, the hands of Meſſieurs the Guardians, preſſed them every day more cloſely. They at laſt found that citron juice was neceſſary in all their food; they obſerved too, that the cloſer they preſſed the fruit, the more juice it yielded. The citrons, ſeeing themſelves thus profuſely bled, thought to have reduced their contribution to the primitive ſtipulation, but the guardians, grown more ſtrong, diſregarding all their complaints, put them in the preſs; and, when nothing elſe remained, they forced a juice from the rinds, by the aid of terrible machines. They at laſt bathed themſelves in the juice of the citrons. Thus this beautiful foreſt was ſoon deſpoiled; the race of citrons became extinct; and their tyrants, habituated to that refreſhing liquor which their prodigality had totally deprived themſelves of, all fell ſick, and died of the putrid fever. Amen, ſo be it.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

SOME men are of a diſpoſition to look down with contempt and ſupercilioufneſs upon thoſe who have the misfortune to move in a ſphere ſomewhat more humble and inferior, (if any ſtation in life can come under ſuch denomination) and treat them with all the *hauteur* of a being compoſed of different materials. When ſuch a perſon comes in our way, it is impoſſible to reſtrain that principle, which the Author of our exiſtence has thought proper to implant in our nature of retaliating the ſame uſage (though not more rancorouſly) upon the unjuſt and ſcandalous miſcreant who gave cauſe for the retort. For what, Sir, is the viſible variation, when we return to that non-entity, and moulder into our original duſt and clay? Who can take upon himſelf to ſay, that when the earth ſhall be again opened for the reception of thoſe bodies who came into life ſome years after our departure from it; who, I ſay, can take upon himſelf to diſcriminate, whether the ſkull toſſed upon the green turf is that of a prince or peaſant—lord or vaſſal?—None.—Then none ſhould, while in ſociety, have the daring preſumption to conſider himſelf of a ſuperior nature. For at the great and awful day, when the trump ſhall ſound to raiſe thoſe who ſleep, and call them into the preſence of the dreaded and impartial Judge, it will then be diſcovered who have conducted themſelves with fairneſs and honeſty, and who have acted the contrary of every virtue and good fellowſhip. Certain it is, we are all frail and imperfect; all liable to the infirmities of rational and natural beings. But, ſurely it was intended, by uniting the community into ſocial compacts, for every

perſon

perſon to render what aſſiſtance it was in his power to thoſe whom misfortune, inadvertency, or other unforeſeen caſualties, ſhould reduce to want, and ſhould ſtand in need of a helping hand. What conſtruction will the word "Society" bear, if it does not admit the above definition; or rather, if it does not exclude every idea of injury to our neighbour, and every ſentiment of rancour and ill-will towards our fellow-creatures?

I am much diſpoſed to attribute that reſerve and uncommunicative behaviour of many people, which is too apparent in moſt of thoſe who enjoy the luxuries and eaſe of life, to a ſelf-ſufficiency. If they meet with a perſon not clad with the veſtments which affluence can ſo readily procure, they ſeem to be conſcious of a ſuperiority; and treat the object of their notice with all the difference they ſo falſely conceive to be viſible—viſible, doubtleſs they are, in external appearance: but a man of ſenſe will ſpurn with juſt indignation at ſuch diſtinctions: he will not confine his views within ſuch baſe and narrow circumſtances: he will not pretend to judge of a man by his ſtature, dreſs, or features; nor give his opinion from the faſhionableneſs of the one, the ſtatelineſs of the other, or the beauty of a third: becauſe he may not be diſpoſed to cenſure any man upon the abſurdity of his ideas, who puts his ſenſe of worldly bliſs upon the etiquette of ſuch inſignificant foibles. And ſecondly, becauſe the higheſt perfection of the corporeal ſyſtem carries with it not the leaſt idea of a fertile imagination, extenſive erudition, or diſintereſted and benevolent heart: *ergo*, human kind are to be eſtimated by their mental actions; if good they ought, and unqueſtionably will, be eſteemed for the goodneſs of their intentions by all honeſt and upright perſons; and as to the praiſe or contumely of thoſe of an oppoſite deſcription, they will be much better without their officious opinions.

It

It ought to be far from us to entertain a contemptible opinion of any of our fellow-creatures; they are men, and of human kind; and, as ſuch, let fortune beſtow with a laviſh hand, upon any, the utmoſt profuſion of her ſmiles and favors, we ought never to recede from that part of our duty, as members of the ſocial union, others are indiſputably entitled to, from the ſuperfluity of our neceſſary expences; and our treaſury doors ſhould never be barred nor bolted againſt a deſerving, but unfortunate, object, ſupplicating for a donative, which, probably would be the means of reſcuing a worthy and unhappy man from precipitating himſelf into the gulf of miſery and deſtruction. O forbid it heaven! Forbid it humanity! I cannot entertain a thought that carries with it ſuch baſeneſs and depravity. When a man ſhall ſtand on the verge of eternity, calling aloud to a ſecond perſon to interpoſe his effective hand, and prevent his friends loſing an affectionate companion, and ſociety a valuable member, he ſhall not render his aſſiſtance to preſerve him from the cruel fate that awaits him.

BENEVOLUS.

A NEW SONG.

Tune,—"*Rule Britannia.*"

AGAIN ye patriot ſouls unite,
Since bounteous Heaven protects your cauſe;
Again aſſert each Briton's right;
Secure, protected by their laws:
For Britons ever, ever will be free,
And call for death, or liberty.

Let

Let penſioned placemen rail and rave,
And ſwine-like treat us free-born ſouls;
The body chain, the mind to enſlave,
While o'er our heads their thunders roll:
Still Britons ever, ever will be free,
And ſing the ſongs of liberty.

A band of placemen late combin'd,
Our independence to o'erthrow;
To ſlavery had all conſign'd,
Who dar'd avert th' impending woe.
Yet Britons ever, ever will be free,
And ſtill cry, death or liberty.

But mighty Jove, who from on high
Beheld the miſery of our iſle,
A promiſe made, that ſhook the ſky,
My ſons ſhall at their tyrants ſmile:
For Britons ever, ever ſhall be free,
Man I ne'er made for ſlavery.

Man ſhall be free, and tyrants fall,
From their high places headlong hurl'd;
Hell's gloomy ſhades receive them all,
While freedom cheers the happy world:
Plenty and peace mankind ſhall bleſs,
And freedom crown their happineſs.

W. Y.

Written

Written during the War of 1756.

WHEN, idiots-like, our parliament,
For monarchs to their neighbors ſent,
They laid thereby a ſure foundation
Of future ruin to the nation.

Whilſt debts on debts enormous riſe,
To ſend to Germany ſupplies,
The people groaning 'neath the yoke,
Will find at laſt a King no joke.

Then will ariſe from evil good,
And liberty be underſtood;
All will the rights of men demand,
And peace and freedom bleſs the land.

TRIAL BY JURY

The great Palladium of Britiſh Liberty, and the only exiſting Bleſſing of our ſhattered Conſtitution.

HAIL! Freedom's Sons!—TWELVE MEN averſe to *Lies*,
Have ſtemm'd the efforts of Corruption's SPIES!
Fifth of December ſav'd our drooping Land,
And ſpar'd ANOTHER of our Patriot Band!

ON THE SAME.

HAIL! glorious day! thou twice indeed art given,
A gracious bleſſing from indulgent Heaven;
Fifth of November ſpared our drooping land,
Now ſav'd the Chief of England's Patriot Band.

A Crambo

A Crambo Epiſtle to Mr. Pitt, on his Memory failing him on a late Trial.

OH! Pitt, lately
Thy memory
Gave thee the lie
Moſt treacherouſly,
When wilfully,
And craftily,
With effrontery,
To the Jury
Thou didſt reply
To them falſely.
Oh! villainy,
Hypocriſy!
Sure proof of thy
Apoſtacy.
Not ſo the Spy,
With Bribery,
Thou didſt employ:
He willingly,
Did certify
His knavery,
And moſt boldly,
And roguiſhly,
Did men decry
And villify,
He knew not why:
Foul perjury,
Diſhoneſty,
And fallacy.
So, Pitt, good by
To thy glory;
For I deſcry
The end is nigh
Of Monarchy,
Ariſtocracy,
Court luxury,
Law ſophiſtry,
And inequality.
I heartily
And conſtantly,
Pray fervently,
Thou Pitt may'ſt hie
To the old Baily,
Lamentably,
Confeſs fully,
Thy perfidy;
And the Jury
That ſhall thee try,
Moſt faithfully,
And honeſtly,
Find thee guilty.
So may'ſt thou die,
Deſpicably,
On gallows high.

I am, Mr. Pitt,
Thy open and avowed enemy.
W. T—NE,——one of the Herd.

Te Deum Pitticus in our next.

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1795.

TE DEUM PITTICUS.

WE praiſe thy memory, O Pitt: we acknowledge it to be moſt treacherous.

All the earth doth acknowledge thee: a Shuffler everlaſting.

To thee all Courtiers cry aloud: the Court and all the Powers therein.

To thee Placemen and Penſioners: continually do cry, Billy, Billy, Billy: thou great equivocator.

Court and City are full of the fame: of thy evidence.

The glorious company of the Apoſtates: praiſe thee.

The goodly fellowſhip of the Miniſtry: praiſe thee.

The noble army of real Traitors: praiſe thee.

The Romiſh Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee.

The founder of a new order: of Jeſuits.

Thine honourable, true: colleague Dundas.

Alſo the Duke of Richmond: the Confronter.

Thou

Thou art the King of Shufflers: O Pitt.

Thou art the ever lying ſon of thy mother.

When thou tookeſt upon thee to deliver us from taxes: thou didſt not abhor the laying on of more.

When thou hadſt overcome the Parliament: thou didſt open the doors of Corruption to all Seceders.

Thou ſatteſt on the Treaſury Bench: in the midſt of thieves and plunderers.

We believe that thou ſhall come: to ſpeedy puniſhment.

We therefore pray thee releaſe the people: by following the wiſe Ahithophel's example.

In ſo doing ſhalt thou ſave the people: and bleſs their heritage.

Then ſhalt thou be numbered with the Empſons and Dudleys: in hatred everlaſting.

Diſpoſe of thy friends the ſame way: and lift them up for ever;

Who day by day: do magnify thee:

And worſhip thy name: to gain their own ends.

When thou didſt vouchſafe to ſwear: thou wouldeſt ſwear the whole truth:

Thou didſt ſwear likewiſe: thou couldſt not recollect it.

O Pitt, fix thyſelf ſix feet above the earth: as our truſt is thou wilt.

O Pitt, in this have we truſted: let us never be confounded.

AMEN.

A New LITANY, to be uſed every Sunday by the Swiniſh Multitude.

O PATRIOTS, from corrupt Chief Juſtices, and conſtructive Treaſon, deliver us.

O Patriots, &c.

O Grand Juries, remember the oaths you take, perjure not yourſelves, in finding Bills, to keep a bloodthirſty Miniſtry in their Places.

O Grand Juries, &c.

O Petty Juries, acquit the Innocent, and defenders of Liberty, in ſpite of corruption, perjury, and falſe witneſſes.

O Petty Juries, &c.

O glorious Trinity, three deſcriptions of men, but in one cauſe, get rid of Tyranny and Oppreſſion for us.

O glorious Trinity, &c.

Remember the manifold crimes of Kings, Miniſters, and Judges; think how they have oppreſſed us, ſpare them not for their titles ſakes, but ſacrifice them to *inſulted* Juſtice, and deſerve our thanks for ever.

Spare them not, O Juries.

From venal Parliaments, and Spies, and Informers,

O People, deliver us.

From War, encreaſe of Taxes, Placemen, and Penſioners,

O People, &c.

From Convention Bills, conſpiracies againſt the MAJESTY of the People, and ſuſpenſions of the Habeas Corpus Act,

O Pikes, deliver us.

From landing of Foreign Troops, from Miniſters bargaining for a Loan before Parliament has voted ſupplies,

O Pikes, &c.

From the employment of French Jeſuits, by our Lord Mayors, and deſcendants of the Stuarts, by Miniſters,

O Pikes, &c.

From every arbitrary ſtretch of Power, and the encreaſing influence of the ——

O Pikes, &c.

From paying Taxes, without being repreſented in Annual Parliaments,

O Pikes, &c.

From Pitt, Dundas, Jenkinſon, Roſe, and Eyre,

O Pikes, &c.

From John Reeves, Paul Le Meſurier, and all other Tyrants,

O Pikes, &c.

We beſeech thee, O Swine, immediately to inſiſt on Univerſal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Swine.

That it may pleaſe thee to keep and ſtrengthen, by every poſſible reſiſtance, the Supreme Majeſty of Swine;

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to prevent our being robbed, and our Troughs emptied, to beſtow Places and Penſions on Court Sycophants;

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee to give us Victory, whenever we may fight in the glorious cauſe of Liberty;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Army and Navy.

That it may pleaſe thee to prevent our being humbugged by beneficed Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, from all eſtabliſhed Churches;

Deliver us, O Army and Navy.

That it may pleaſe thee to aid and aſſiſt in overturning the infamous machination of the Privy Council;

We beſeech thee to aid us, O Army and Navy.

That it may pleaſe thee not to fight againſt the Liberties, and diſturb the progreſs of human happineſs in other nations;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Army and Navy.

That you may reſiſt, with phyſical force, being ſent to

endeavour

endeavour to reinſtate Deſpotiſm in any other Country, but if, by ſuperior force you are compelled to go, deſert to thoſe who are fighting for their Rights;

We beſeech thee to do theſe, O Army and Navy.

That it may pleaſe thee to turn your Arms againſt thoſe who oppreſs Swine;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Army and Navy.

We beſeech thee, O Liberty, to inſpire our hearts with love of thee, that thou wilt aid and aſſiſt us in ſtruggling for thy manifold bleſſings, that thou wilt awaken the cowardly to a ſenſe of their danger, ere it be too late;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Liberty.

That thou wilt not ſuffer thy followers to be overcome by Crowns, Titles, Stars, or Garters;

We beſeech, &c.

That it may pleaſe thee, O Reaſon, to enlighten the ignorant, and make them thirſt after Political Knowledge, and turn to ridicule the idea of an Idiot having a DIVINE RIGHT to tyrannize over them;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Reaſon.

That it may pleaſe thee to open the eyes of thoſe who are blinded by ſuperſtition and prejudice, and by ſuch means ſit in Slavery;

We beſeech thee to hear us, O Treaſon.

Cætera deſunt.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

If the following is worth throwing into your trough, which is intended as introductory to a few letters ſtating a number of exiſting grievances, and in ſupport of the neceſſity

ſity of a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, and the utility of the ſhortening the duration thereof, you will have one as early as poſſible from

A LIBERTY PIG.

Freedom's Stye,
Dec. 30th, 1794.

SINCE the Trials and Acquittals of Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, and the Acquittals of many other gentlemen who were impriſoned upon Charges of High Treaſon, but in truth for exerting themſelves to obtain what is generally wiſhed for, a *Reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament*, the Inequality of the Repreſentation of this Country has become the ſubject of more general converſation by all deſcriptions of people, than at any former period within my recollection.—Amongſt the various arguments made uſe of by the advocates for the preſent ſyſtem of miniſterial influence, obtained by the moſt unexampled corruption, they cite the ſituation of Lord North at the cloſe of the American war. At that time, they ſay, although the Houſe of Commons was in the ſame ſtate as at preſent, and which is now ſo continually, by reſtleſs, diſſatisfied and indigent men (who have no property to loſe, and who are indefatigable in endeavouring to plunge this *happy Kingdom* into anarchy and confuſion) declared to contain a majority of miniſterial hirelings, who are on all occaſions ſubſervient to his will; yet, notwithſtanding Lord North had all the ſupport that Mr. Pitt can now have, and had many years enjoyed the confidence of the people, and had began and carried on that war, with their general approbation, yet when the people began to find the effects of that ruinous contention, and publickly avowed their inclinations to immediately have a reſtoration

of

of peace, which could only be obtained on the moſt humiliating terms, at that time did parliament proclaim the voice of the people, and uſe every exertion to obtain that which they ſo ardently required—the firſt ſtep towards which was withdrawing their ſupport from the miniſtry.

Sir, In anſwer to the bold, and I will ſay, fallacious aſſertion, that the American war (like the preſent diſaſtrous and ruinous conteſt with France) never was approved of by the people, but only by the miniſter of that day and his wicked and abandoned adherents, who in vain attempted to enſlave a brave and generous people, by endeavouring to ſhackle them with the fetters of deſpotiſm. In anſwer to the aſſertion, that the cloſe of the American war, proves that the voice of the people is to be known through the preſent repreſentative body in parliament, I have to obſerve, that, whenever the inhabitants of this country, which I am fearful is not far diſtant, find themſelves in that calamitous ſituation, which a total ſtagnation of trade and the deſtruction of our commerce, owing to the innumerable captures made by a powerful and vigilant enemy, and an additional and inſupportable load of taxes are ſure to reduce them, when ever driven to ſuch extremities, which was the caſe at the concluſion of the American war, then addreſſes from the various counties are poured in ſo rapidly, conveying with ſuch energetic language the diſpoſition of the people, that the baſe and mercenary hirelings of adminiſtration, ſeeing the neceſſity of complying with their will, then deſert the man to whom before they had bowed with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. Truſt me, ere long addreſſes will be plentifully preſented, *To Our Preſent Moſt Gracious Sovereign* (whoſe virtues are almoſt unrivalled, particularly in the manifeſt proofs he has given on every occaſion to alleviate the diſtreſſes

treſſes and eaſe the burthens of his people by the moſt unexampled liberality) to diſmiſs miniſters, who, from not only their imprudent, but flagitious meaſures, have been the cauſe of provoking and are ſtill continuing, one of the moſt *bloody and deſtructive wars* that is to be met with in the annals of hiſtory. Sir, it may probably be ſaid, if a change of men and meaſures are to be procured through addreſſes to the crown, from the various counties, cities, and boroughs, miniſters can act no otherwiſe than agreeable to the will of the people. I am well aware, that they cannot, or even the King remain on the Throne, if the majority of the people were to inſiſt on a ſuſpenſion of the monarchical power, and of introducing a different form of government, which, happy for them, I believe is far diſtant from their deſires. But, Sir, I mean to contend, that the voice of the people is never heard, at leaſt attended to, except at thoſe times when they are driven to the greateſt extremities, through the raſh, nefarious and flagrant acts committed by an arbitrary and oppreſſive adminiſtration, as I conceive the preſent to be. If then the ſtatement is correct, it muſt point out the neceſſity of the people perſevering to obtain an equal repreſentation, that their wills may be manifeſt on every occaſion, and thereby prevent, at any future period, the nation being involved in ſuch a diſaſtrous ſituation as the preſent.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CILIZEN EDITOR,

The following hiſtory of a *fracas* that happened in the Theatre of Edinburgh, in March laſt, which is of ſome importance in the Political World, and as no proper account

count of it has hitherto been publiſhed, I would thank you if you would inſert, it in your uſeful miſcellany, as preparatory to many other accounts of ſcenes which paſſed in Scotland, hitherto held from the public eye, which I ſhall trouble you with.

R.

THE play of Charles I. had been advertiſed about fourteen days before it was acted, and Stephen Kemble, the manager, had very fooliſhly made ſome remarks in his advertiſement, upon the ſimilarity of the fate of Charles I. and of Louis XVI. and inſinuated that the reformers of the preſent day were a ſet of hypocrites, like Cromwell and his followers.

The houſe was very full, and previous to the play beginning, ſome perſons ordered the muſic to play "God "ſave the King," but the clamour againſt the tune was ſo loud and unanimous, that the band was obliged to obey almoſt the univerſal call of the houſe, by ſtriking up "Maggie Lauder."

The Democratic parts of Cromwell's ſpeeches were received by thundering plaudits, while the pathetic and dignified ſpeeches of Charles were either laughed at or hiſſed. About the end of the fourth act, "God ſave the King" was again called for by a number of military officers, moſtly of the Argyle Fencible Regiment, (*of whoſe further conduct more in my next*) and others who had made their appearance in the pit after the firſt conteſt, and who had been ſent for. A part of the audience in the pit took off their hats: and the Highland officers, to prove their *loyalty to the King whom they ſerve*, and *their affection to the people who pay them*, drew their MAIDEN SWORDS and attacked all thoſe perſons in the pit, who were covered. A ſtout

battle

battle enſued; but, the unarmed men were at laſt overcome by a party of ſoldiers, who ruſhed into the pit with their *bayonets drawn*. While theſe barbarities were tranſacting below, the galleries ſhewed their diſapprobation at the conduct of the officers, by calling them murderers, aſſaſſins, cowards, hirelings, &c. crying, down with the redcoats, throwing oranges, and every thing at them that they could get hold of.

The officers did not themſelves preſume to attack the galleries, though the people dared them to come up, but ſent up a party of ſoldiers amongſt the gods, to keep them in order, when the gods proved their ſuperiority, by turning out the greater part of the ſoldiers, and thoſe who were allowed to remain, were kept to ſtrict order by the RABBLE. Several perſons on both ſides were ſeverely hurt, but what was reckoned a ſtrange phenomenon, was, that a party of the Argyleſhire Fencibles, amounting to above two hundred men, with an officer at their head, at the middle of the north bridge, at the end of which the theatre ſtands, there waited the orders of their worthy officers to fire upon the daring democrats.

Among the gentlemen who were hurt by theſe *gallant ſoldiers* are ſeveral ſtudents of the Univerſity. The officers proved to the audience, that they were well acquainted with that branch of military tactics which teaches to attack with advantage, but, although they handled their ſwords in a very ſoldier-like manner, they were pretty roughly dealt with. Some of them *lay bleeding in their glory*. One of them was knocked down with his head between two benches and his feet upwards, while his phillibeg falling back, exhibited before the Ladies in the boxes a ſpectacle truly *ſans culottiſh*. A gentleman, while ſupporting a lady who was fainting, was ſtruck at with a broad-

ſword, for the crime of having his hat on. Theſe atchievements performed by the Argyleſhire heroes, will doubtleſs give them immortal honour, and be *remembered* by their fellow citizens when the reſiſtance made by their anceſtors to Charles I. and the arbitrary houſe of Stuart will be *forgotten* or *abhorred ! ! !*

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the following lines worthy of a place in your uſeful little publication, will thank you to let them appear; and will occaſionally, if acceptable, drop you a few lines on political topics, as opportunity may ſerve.

THE names of democrat, and enemy to all laws and order, are now uſed as ſynonimous terms by the tools of venality, and re-echoed by the ignorant and profligate; and as a great majority of theſe deſcriptions are to be found in coffee-rooms, ale-houſes, and all places of public reſort, to be pointed out as a democrat amounts to nearly the ſame as an outlawry or proſcription: by the ignorant and timid, he is ſhunned with as much caution as if he were infected by the plague:—by the ignorant, becauſe they believe him to be an enemy to his country, and that he would kill his *gracious ſovereign*:—the timorous fear to be ſeen in his company, leſt the *ſublime Pittachio* ſhould think proper to *impriſon* or *tranſport* him, and them, for being his colleagues.

The ſupporters of corruption ſpread abroad all the moſt abſurd and malicious charges that the human mind can invent, to bring democracy into diſrepute; they wiſh its annihilation,

nihilation, and they know that the only way to effect it is, to frighten the people out of their liberty, by alarms of plots, aſſaſſinations, &c. Who, a century paſt, would have believed that a commoner of Great Britain would have been reviled and abuſed for acknowledging himſelf a democrat? If the democracy is deſtroyed, where then is the boaſted conſtitution of Britons? where is the Bill of Rights? Where is Magna Charta? and wherein doth exiſt the freedom of Engliſhmen? They are no more. What liberty can there be in a conſtitution formed by a king and nobles only? No more than in the grand ſignor and his divan.

If the miniſtry declare that democrats are enemies to the ſtate, they diſſolve the tie which binds together the conſtitution; they declare war againſt the people; for every commoner (that is to ſay every man who is not a baron), muſt either be a ſlave or a democrat. There is no medium between democracy and ſlavery. The Britiſh conſtitution is ſaid to conſiſt of democracy, ariſtocracy, and monarchy: the firſt is at preſent in a very corrupt and vitiated ſtate; the repreſentation of the commons is like a common proſtitute, carried by the higheſt bidder.

The ſimilitude betwixt the Roman ſenate at the cloſe of the republic and our ariſtocracy at preſent is ſtriking:

When the ſenatorial dignity was beſtowed only upon thoſe whoſe ſuperior merit had a fair claim to it; when virtue, accompanied by poverty, was counted more honourable than vice, though laden with all the riches of the Eaſt; and when the body of the people had not only the right to enquire into, but likewiſe the power to puniſh them, if they acted contrary to the intereſt of the republic;—in thoſe days they were an honour to the ſtate, and a bulwark to its liberties. But when Cæſar increaſed their number,

and

and preferred his own creatures to that poſt which had always theretofore been filled by the moſt virtuous and brave, Rome fell. Her territory, to be ſure, did not inſtantly decreaſe, but her liberty was loſt. What a contraſt was the ſenate in thoſe days compared with thoſe ſenates, members of which, after conquering kings, died ſo poor, that what property they left at their deceaſe would not ſuffice to inter their bodies. As to the monarchy, it is limited: ſo long as the ſupreme magiſtrate does not exceed the bounds which the revolution of 1688 has preſcribed, the people are bound to protect him; but ſhould he become guilty of perjury, by attempting to increaſe his prerogatives, and by that means to uſurp a power and authority which is not warranted by law, and which cannot exiſt without manifold danger to the other two eſtates. Or ſhould the monarchy and ariſtocracy conjoin, then the danger reverts with redoubled force on thoſe for whoſe good alone all governments were eſtabliſhed—the democracy. I think it muſt appear to every Briton, who loves his country, not through a blind fondneſs for the inanimate ſod, but becauſe he reverences the laws, which, when not perverted, act for the good of the whole community, and becauſe he loves his fellow citizens, that although there are three eſtates eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of governing and making laws, ſtill it is evident that the good of the people ſhould be the only object in view. This being allowed, it follows, that the ariſtocratical and monarchical branches ought to act as ſubſervient to the democracy: all governments being primarily formed for the happineſs and benefit of the governed, and thoſe who hold the reins of government are the ſervants of that part of the community who do not; and, being ſervants, may be removed whenever their *maſters* the *democrats* think they act contrary to their intereſt, and the truſt repoſed in them.

A TRUE DEMOCRAT.

A New Song, to the Tune of the Times.

STATE Trials, ſtate trials, are now all the chat,
And what the plague would jurymen be at?
Ye jurors you've made ſuch a deviliſh rout,
The world would be glad to know what you're about.

Thoſe raſcals which you ſhould have hang'd up for treaſon,
You've let them all go, pray what was your reaſon?
Your conduct I'm ſure has been very abſurd,
You've forſaken your king, and you've join'd with the herd.

You've turn'd all the plots of the ſtate upſide down,
And cramp'd the high power and ſtrength of the crown;
Poor Billy is moping about, and ſo ſad,
That moſt people think it will drive him quite mad.

There's another great man, I mean Harry Dundas,
Looks ſtupid, and hangs down his ears like an aſs;
Then there's poor Johnny Reeves, his informers and ſpies,
Are all in the mumps, with tears in their eyes.

They are ruin'd, undone, they are gone to the dogs,
And old Teddy Burke, too, muſt herd with the hogs;
You've made ſuch confuſion, that moſt people think
Billy Pitt had much better be off from the ſtink.

And ſome of his friends would be fain underſtood,
That he'd better go ſoon while his ſhoe-leather's good;
He'll confoundedly ſtare when that horrid machine
Is imported from France, which they call guillotine.

A Choice and Loyal New Song, as it was ſung laſt Winter with burſts of Applauſe, by his Majeſty's Servants, at the Theatre Royal.

BY THE NOTED SAWNEY DUNDAS.

Tune,—"*Tulloghgorum.*

OF all the ſtars that ever ſhone,
From Philip's ſon of Macedon,
To him that fills the Britiſh throne,
The Church of England's glory;
That eyes have ſeen, or ears have heard,
There's none on earth can be compar'd,
With our illuſtrious George the Third,
The life of every Tory!!!

Let Paine his brilliant parts diſplay,
A fig for what the fop can ſay,
He's but a jack aſs, let him bray,
He ne'er ſhall ſtain thy glory;
Thy arm ſhall ſhake his Babel down;
The nation trembles at thy frown;
And George the Third ſhall wear the crown,
Supported by a Tory!

The Whigs are but a herd of Swine,
How baſe their worth compar'd with thine,
In Royal wiſdom riſe and ſhine,
In thy meridian glory;
Thy trembling foes grow pale and wan;
Let George triumphant lead the van,
And trample on the Rights of Man,
Till time grow old and hoary.

The

The graſs ſhall not conceal the ſnake,
The vile diſſenting crew may quake,
From Prieſtley down to ‡Bobby Blake,
We'll tarniſh all their glory :
Like Charles the Second's golden days,
We'll ſet your temples on a blaze,
And feed the flame with loud huzzas,
While George admires a Tory.

Let France provoke thee if ſhe dare ;
Great George, the thunderbolt of war,
Shall ride in his victorious car,
And ſpread a diſmal ſtory :
Bid but thy deep-mouth'd thunder roar,
And terror ſeize the Gallic ſhore,
And we'll admire thee more and more,
Thou joy of every Tory.

If thoſe the penal laws renew
Againſt that Low-Church canting crew,
We'll dance and ſing till all be blue,
And drink till all be mellow ;
From pole to pole we'll ſpread thy fame ;
All Europe trembles at thy name ;
Old Time ſhall travel till he's lame
Before he finds thy fellow.

E'en Hardy and that *Felon* band,
Whoſe treaſon overſpread the land,
Impriſon'd by thy ſtern command
Felt all thy Royal fury ;
To thee juſt obloquy belongs,
While from an hundred thouſand tongues
Echo tells the Patriots wrongs,
And hails an *upright* Jury.

‡ A noted preaching Cobler.

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To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

THE time is now arrived, when it behoves every man to ſpeak out; to declare to the world the dictates of his heart. The preſent momentous and alarming period, is by far too awful to permit of any excuſes being made for neglecting ſo important a ſubject as our liberty; I deſpiſe him who will ſay his buſineſs or relations prevent his exertions. Deluded ſlaves! ſlaves of the baſeſt ſort. What, barter the happineſs of their children, the happineſs of mankind, for the deſpicable gratification of having a better retail ſhop, or moving in a more poliſhed ſphere than their neighbours! Can humanity be ſo degraded? Can ſuch wretches exiſt in Britain? Alas there can! and were they the only ſufferers, it would not ſignify, were they chained to an oar for life. But the misfortune is, the enlightened, the liberal, the patriotic, are

puniſhed

puniſhed for their crimes. I am at a loſs whether to attribute their ſupineneſs to cowardice, ignorance, or love of gain; many are actuated by each, but I hope the moſt by ignorance. This claſs of people is to be pitied, and it becomes our indiſpenſible duty to let them know *their conſequence*, and inſtruct them in their political rights.

The ignorant have EVER, in this country, been deluded by Miniſters, whoſe political exiſtence depended on doing the *dirty* work of the Crown, and obeying its deſpotic mandates. They have continually yelped out the Liberty of the Subject, glorious and happy conſtitution, when about to pilfer any one of our few remaining Rights. The oppoſition have as conſtantly reprobated the meaſure, becauſe they did not ſhare the pelf, but when in power themſelves have never alleviated thoſe abuſes, which but a ſhort time before they ſo vehemently thundered againſt. And why did they do this? They knew the Crown would ſupport the ins no longer than they could add to its avarieious and venal purpoſes, then of courſe the outs muſt be called in to continue the ſelf-ſame ſyſtem, which they had ſo uniformly oppoſed *while out of place*.

If the excellence of a government conſiſts in being maintained at the *greateſt* poſſible expence, with the *leaſt* poſſible liberty, the government of Great Britain is certainly the *beſt* in the world. The conſtitution I know nothing about. I verily believe it is *only* to be found in the wild enthuſiaſtic brain of poor DEGRADED Burke. I have heard much talk of this ærial phantom, but never could find it. I have ſeen many many enormous volumes of laws, &c. but I confeſs they were too complex for my capacity. If the glory of our conſtitution conſiſts in having ten thouſand broad wheeled waggons full of ridiculous acts of parliament, we certainly have a very glorious one indeed.

If *ever* we had a conſtitution, which I muſt doubt, did it allow of the Miniſters of the Crown acting as they pleaſed, contrary to law, juſtice, and humanity? Did it allow of the Houſe of Commons rejecting the petitions of their conſtituents? Did it allow of a ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, to keep a drunken, ſtupid, blood-thirſty Miniſtry in their places; becauſe the People's burthens were too heavy for them to bear, and they were about to demand their rights? If *their* conſtitution allows of ſuch things, *my* hand ſhall ever be uplifted againſt it; if it does not, I will hazard my all in oppoſing the villains who have diſgraced it. Such are my principles, and ſuch will they ever remain, and every phyſical exertion in my power I will uſe to ſupport them. I will oppoſe tyranny, and every inſult offered to the ſupreme Majeſty of the People, for they are the only MAJESTY I know of; all others, let them be called by whatſoever name they may, are the SERVANTS of the People, and the People have a RIGHT to change them whenever they find it their intereſt ſo to do.

On ſuch grounds, the people ſhould, with one voice, demand a change of meaſures, not of men; then let them form a conſtitution built on the broad baſis of liberty and the rights of man, let them demand annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage. From ſuch alone can they expect happineſs. In vain may palliatives be offerered, nothing but a radical reform will ever be of any benefit to ſociety at large; this alone will enable the poor honeſt labourer to enjoy his hard-earned pence, and give his ſtarving family a comfortable meal; this alone will prevent thoſe vultures placemen and penſioners from plundering the deſerving part of mankind.

R. B.

WONDERFUL EXHIBITION.

SIGNOR GULIELMO PITTACHIO, the Sublime Wonder of the World, condeſcends to inform the public at large, and his friends in particular, that immediately after Chriſtmas, he will open his Grand Hall of Exhibitions, at Weſtminſter, with a grand diſplay of his ASTONISHING AND MAGNIFICENT DECEPTIONS; which have been approved by all the crowned heads in the univerſe, and which are unparralleled in the hiſtory of mankind.

Firſt, The Signor will bring forward A MAGICAL ALARM BELL, at the ringing of which, all the company ſhall become mad or fooliſh.

Secondly,—He will produce his juſtly celebrated CURIOUS SPY GLASSES, which diſtort and miſrepreſent all objects that are looked at through them, and occaſion in the company A SUDDEN AND SOCIAL DISMAY; ſuch as has never before been witneſſed in this country.

Thirdly,—by means of an enchanted drum, he will ſet all the company a fighting, for the avowed purpoſe of preſerving ORDER AND TRANQUILITY.

During the battle, Signor Pittachio will convey their money out of their pockets in a new and entertaining manner.

Fourthly.—He will produce a moſt extraordinary effect in the optics of the Spectators, by means of ſome gold duſt, ſo that they ſhall not be able to diſtinguiſh colours; but ſhall call, (at the Signor's command,) BLACK WHITE; AND WHITE, BLACK, to the ediſication of all beholders.

Fifthly.—He will make ſome marvellous experiments upon his own MEMORY, by forgetting the moſt material incidents of his life, with an almoſt incredible preciſion.

N. B. To remove doubts, theſe experiments upon memory will be made upon *oath*.

Sixthly.—By his oratorical efforts, he will, in the courſe of a few minutes, perſuade the greater part of his audience to ſalute him *a poſteriori*, then to give him three cheers, and nominate him the HEAVEN-BORN CONJURER; With various ſlight-of-hand performances and whimſical exuberances, too tedious to mention.

In the courſe of the entertainments the Sublime Pittachio will exhibit UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED AUTOMATA, OR MOVING PUPPETS, who will riſe up, ſit down, ſay yes, or no, receive money, rake among the cinders, or do any dirty work he may think proper to put them to.

N. B. This is a moſt faſcinating trick.

Afterwards Signor Gulielmo Pittachio will dicover to the company the unrivalled treaſures of HIS PRIVATE CABINET, formed on a mere mechanical principle, without hinges, joints, dove-tail, or glue.

The whole to conclude with a Dramatic Piece in one Act, called,

THE HUMBUG; Or, JOHN BULL A JACK ASS,

In which Signor Pittachio (not having yet engaged any female performers) will indulge the company with A SOLO ON THE VIOL D'AMOUR.

N. B. The Hall is commodious, but the company will be kept as much in the DARK as poſſible, to give greater effect to the DECEPTIONS.

Signor Pittachio is extremely ſorry to inform the Public, that owing to ſome unaccountable miſmanagement in the perſons he employed, he has been diſappointed of ſeveral capital performers whom he had hoped to have brought forward, for the purpoſe of exhibiting various feats of activity on THE TIGHT ROPE.—This part of the entertainment therefore muſt be deferred.

To ſupply this deficiency Signor Pittachio will cloſe his wonderful perfor nances by exhibiting his own Perſon on

THE TIGHT ROPE,

For the benefit of the Swiniſh Multitude.

VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. Editor,

AS the inequality of the preſent repreſentative body of the people in parliament, is not or cannot be denied, the queſtion ſo much the ſubject of diſcuſſion at this time appears to be, whether the people would derive any advantage by being more equally repreſented—That they would, I conceive, cannot be controverted, as they would, moſt probably, obtain redreſs of a catalogue of grievances, too monſtrous to enumerate, and without which they may ſeek for in vain, ſo long as the parliament continues in its preſent ſtate, and the members are in a ſituation, by receiving the wages of iniquity, ready at the command of a tyrannical adminiſtration to uſe every exertion to annihilate the liberties of Engliſhmen.

Amongſt the many exiſting grievances, and the few I ſhall notice, I ſhall begin with one of the moſt oppreſſive and injurious, to the farmer, the labourer, and indeed to all deſcriptions of perſons, except, the moſt and right reverend gentlemen in lawn ſleeves, deacons, prebends, rectors and vicars, who are ſo extravagantly paid to ſupport them in luxury and idleneſs, that they become ſo intoxicated with pride, that they diveſt themſelves of that humility they ought to poſſeſs, and contemptuouſly treat thoſe who are moſt conducive to their ſupport—The grievance I complain of, is tythes, which are, and will be ſo long as they continue to be paid, a check to agriculture and honeſt induſtry—For when it is conſidered, that whatever improvements are made by the farmer, and however conſiderable the expence, that the clergy acquire an additional benefit therefrom, without the ſmalleſt contrib tion,

tribution, the aforementioned aſſertion muſt appear well founded—It may probably be aſked, would you immediately ceaſe, if you could obtain the ſanction of parliament, to pay tythes to ſupport the reverend gentlemen, without the payment of which, many would be reduced to extreme indigence—The anſwer is plain, that ſame power that may deprive them of ſuch receipts, if ever that ſhould take place (which I hope will very ſhortly) may, and no doubt will, provide for that body of men in ſuch way and with ſuch liberality as would ſupport them with all the neceſſary dignity their profeſſional ſituations require—when it is conſidered the number of ſouls that are left to the care of many town and country curates, for which they receive wages not equal to the moſt inferior mechanic. If then thoſe men are thought to poſſeſs ſufficient ability to inſtruct and conduct the People in the true paths of religion, it may be a query if their ſalaries were apportioned to their duty, whether there would be any neceſſity for a continuance of moſt and right reverend fathers in God, deans, prebends, &c.

Having ſtated what I could wiſh ſhould be the ſituation of the Engliſh clergy, I ſhall conclude this letter with mentioning what I conceive generally to be the motive for introducing them into the profeſſion, and the cauſe of many afterwards obtaining very lucrative benefices.—It is a well known fact, that many men who have been fortunate enough to have acquired ſmall fortunes in buſineſs, conceive it then too degrading to have their ſons apprenticed to any perſon in trade. The conſequence is, they muſt be educated and inſtructed to obtain a living in one of the three learned profeſſions.—As very little chance of ſucceſs attends either law or phyſic, unleſs aided by great abilities, the greater part of the dull, ſtupid beings, that

have

have received ſuch education as I have juſt mentioned, enliſt into the preſent powerful hoſt of divines, and become candidates for church preferment, knowing that abilities muſt give way to intereſt, which if it cannot be procured through friendſhip, may be purchaſed (notwithſtanding the law to puniſh ſimony)—even a mitre.—Another deſcription of men introduced into the clerical profeſſion, are the younger ſons of our nobility and men of great fortunes and connections, the fathers and relatives of whom, by proſtituting their abilities (if they have any) and exerting themſelves to ſupport adminiſtration, for ſuch ſervices, are ſure to obtain for them as a reward, ſome valuable benefice or plurality of church livings.

Freedom's-Stye,
Jan. 12, 1795.

A LIBERTY PIG.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

FELLOW-CITIZEN,

AT a time when the rights and liberties of mankind are wantonly made havoc of, I think it may not be unſuitable to inſert the following lines in your valuable Miſcellany.

When men are dragged to dungeons, and baniſhed their native country, or left at the mercy of unjuſt Power, becauſe they poſſeſs minds capable of ſympathizing with their miſerable countrymen; becauſe they have wiſdom to diſcern the cauſes, and are honeſt enough to diſcover the evils, that, if perſiſted in, will, ere long, involve in its ruin not only the weak and defenceleſs, but the men who, through the ſuffocating ſtench of inequality,

are

are deprived of that public ſpirit which can alone produce ſalvation for a fruitful, though a land mourning for the greateſt of all bleſſings, Public Liberty, where can we hide, and not hear the voice of Senſibility expreſſing itſelf in the language of this little ſelected piece—O Liberty! thou enlivener of life, thou ſolace of our toils, thou patron of arts, thou encourager of induſtry, thou ſpring of opulence, thou ſomething more than life, beyond the reach of fancy to deſcribe, all hail! It is thou that beameſt the ſunſhine in the Patriot's breaſt; it is thou that ſweeteneſt the toil of the labouring mechanic! Thou doſt inſpire the ploughman with his jocund mirth; and thou tuneſt the merry milk-maid's ſong! Thou canſt make the deſart ſmile, and the barren rock to ſing for joy; by thy ſacred protection the pooreſt peaſant is ſecure under the roof of his defenceleſs cot, whilſt Oppreſſion, at a diſtance, gnaſhes with her teeth, but dares not ſhow her iron rod, and Power, like the raging billows, daſhes its bounds with indignation, but cannot overpaſs them.

But where thou art not, how changed the ſcene! how taſteleſs! how irkſome labour! how languid induſtry! Where is the beauteous roſe, the gaudy tulip, the ſweet-ſcented jeſſamine? Where the purple grape, the luſcious peach, the glowing nectarine? Wherefore ſmile not the valleys with their beauteous verdure, nor ſing for joy with their golden harveſt?—All are withered by the ſcorching ſun of lawleſs Power!—Where thou art not, what place ſo ſacred as to be ſecure? Or, who can ſay, this is my own? This is the language only of the place where thou delighteſt to dwell. But as ſoon as thou ſpreadeſt thy wings to ſome more pleaſing clime, Power walks abroad with haughty ſtrides, and tramples upon the weak; whilſt Oppreſſion,

Oppreſſion, with its heavy hand, bows down the unwilling neck to the yoke!

O my Country! alas, my Country! thou waſt once the choſen ſeat of Liberty. Her footſteps appeared in thy ſtreets, thy palaces, thy public aſſemblies: ſhe exulted in thee. Her voice, the voice of joy and gladneſs, was heard throughout the land. With more than a mother's love, ſhe held forth her ſevenfold ſhield to protect the meaneſt of her ſons; whilſt Juſtice, ſupported by the Laws, rode triumphant by her ſide with awful majeſty, and looked fear and trembling into every diſturber of the public quiet. O thou, whom my ſoul loveth, wherefore do I now ſeek thy footſteps in vain? Wherefore doſt thou ſit dejected, and hideſt thy face all the day long?—Canſt thou aſk the reaſon of my grief?—See, ſee! My generous and hardy ſons are become fooliſh, indolent, effeminate, thoughtleſs! Behold, how, with their hands, they have loaded me with ſhackles! Alas! haſt thou not ſeen them take the rod from my beloved ſiſter, Juſtice, and give it to the ſons of blood and rapine? Yet a little while I mourn over loſt and degenerate ſons, and then, with haſty flight, fix my habitation in ſome more happy clime.

I am, Sir, a ſincere friend and well-wiſher of every attempt to enlighten the People,

A DISTRESSED MECHANIC.

Hoxton, Jan. 13, 1795.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. EDITOR,

ALTHOUGH the work from which the following lines are ſelected, may be purchaſed even by perſons of

of narrow circumſtances, I am perſuaded they will not be thought the leſs of on that account; and I am of opinion, than when an extract is made from an approved author, it makes a ſtronger impreſſion on the mind then when viewed in the work itſelf. I have not the leaſt doubt, therefore, that you will heſitate a moment in inſerting the following in your entertaining and inſtructive Miſcellany. I was induced to offer them to you, as thoſe lines in *Italics* ſeem to me to be extremely applicable to the preſent perſecuting times. The learned and admired author of the Traveller, poſſeſſed literary talents too eminent to ſtand in need of any panegyrics of mine; and will not, I am ſure, bring any diſhonour on the conductor of Politics for the People, by giving them admiſſion.

J. B.

FROM GOLDSMITH'S TRAVELLER.

Yet think not thus, when Freedom's ills I ſtate,
I mean to flatter Kings, or court the great.
Ye powers of truth, that bid my ſoul aſpire,
Far from my boſom drive the low deſire.
And thou, fair Freedom, taught alike to feel
The rabbled rage, and tyrant's angry ſteel;
Thou tranſitory flower, alike undone
By bold contempt, or favour's foſtering ſun,
Still may thy blooms the changeful clime endure,
I only would repreſs them to ſecure:
For juſt experience tells in every ſoil,
That thoſe who think muſt govern thoſe that toil;
And all that Freedom's higheſt aims can reach,
Is but to lay proportion'd loads on each;
Much on the low, the reſt, as rank ſupplies,

Should

Should in columnar diminution riſe;
While, ſhould one order diſproportion'd grow,
Its double weight muſt ruin all below.
O then how blind to all that truth requires,
Who think it freedom when a part aſpires!
Calm is my ſoul, nor apt to riſe in arms,
Except when faſt approaching danger warms;
But when contending chiefs blockade the throne,
Contracting regal power to ſtretch their own;
When I behold a factious band agree
To call it freedom when themſelves are free;
Each wanton judge new penal ſtatutes draw,
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law;
The wealth of climes, where ſavage nations roam,
Pillag'd from ſlaves to purchaſe ſlaves at home;
Fear, pity, juſtice, indignation ſtart,
Tear of reſerve, and bare my feeling heart;
Till half a patriot, half a coward groan,
I fly from petty tyrants to the throne.

A NEW SONG.

Addreſſed to the Britiſh Troops on the Continent.

Tune,—"Heaving of the Lead."

YE Britons who (though freemen born)
Againſt fair Freedom wield the ſpear;
Who are become the freeman's ſcorn,
To reaſon's voice O lend an ear.
While German ſlaves for tyrants fight,
Rememb'ring freedom is your right,
Britons come home.

Op-

Oppoſed by a ſlaviſh herd,
  Lo! Gallia's ſons victorious be;
In Freedom's cauſe who wield the ſword,
  Will ever meet with victory,
    While German ſlaves, then, 'gainſt them fight,
    Rememb'ring freedom is your right,
      Britons come home.

Our fathers, who for freedom bled,
  (Could they on earth return again)
Would tears of rage and pity ſhed,
  To ſee their ſons for tyrants ſlain.
    While German ſlaves, then for them fight,
    Rememb'ring freedom is your right,
      Britons come home.

A NEW SONG.

Tune,—"*See the Conquering Hero Comes.*"

RECITATIVE.

WHY this refulgent light? Through the azure ſkies,
  With vivid flaſh the dreadful light'ning flies;
All nature ſeems in dread diſmay to be,
And thunders ſhake e'en Heaven's chancery! —
Hide your pale lights, ye ſtars, both great and ſmall,
York crown'd by fame, ſhall ſoon outſhine ye all!!!

SONG.

Ye poets from garret, to fib-telling Pye,
  Your heads, ink, and paper prepare;
To celebrate York, and his victories great,
  Moſt wond'rous, unheard of, and rare.

How

How at Dunkirk he kill'd ev'ry Sans Culotte ſow,
He chopp'd them like ſauſage-meat fine;
And ſent to the cabinet council a pound,
That Georgey and Billy might dine.

How Holland he ſav'd and the Netherlands too,
By the rout to proud Paris ſo ſnug;
Pichegru at his feet, pray'd he would not retreat,
And begg'd for a fraternal hug.

But York, like a general, cautious and wiſe,
Scorn'd to look at the miſcreant baſe;
And ſwore for his inſolence, never again
Would he meet him face unto face.

And now he's ſafe home with his laurels adorn'd,
Let Fame ſound her trump of applauſe;
Give praiſe to his courage, diſcretion and ſenſe,
Since ſucceſs crown'd ſo glorious a cauſe.

A FRIEND TO VALOUR.

To DANIEL ISAAC EATON,

ON THE VERDICT OBTAINED FROM AN HONEST JURY, ON AN INDICTMENT FOR LIBEL, TRIED IN FEBRUARY, 1794, AT THE OLD BAILEY.*

SO, *Dan*, once more you have eſcap'd
From Newgate's *noxious* air;
Th' indictment, ſurely, was not ſhap'd
With all a lawyer's care.

Though in the copy,——that I mean,
Adorned with Chanticleer,
No flaw, I think, is to be ſeen,
But all is fair and clear.

* The third time of his being tried for Sedition, and acquitted.

But ſurely *White* has done the thing
Which you and ſuch like men do;
For don't he libel our GREAT King,
Tho' 'tis by *innuendo?*

Game cocks and Kings are all the ſame,
He boldly there has ſaid;
Nor can we call them aught but *game*,
Who ſo much blood have ſhed.

But why ſhould *White* ſo ſilly be,
A King to rudely mention,
When all men know his annual fee
Exceeds a *Toulon* penſion.

No thanks to him for getting free
Are due from you, my bold one!
For he'd be pleas'd were he to ſee
You tortur'd by the *Old One*.

No; 'tis to GURNEY you're in debt,
And to an honeſt JURY:
Vile hirelings now may fume and fret,
Since you've eſcap'd their fury.

But here my verſe I muſt not end,
Until I've cramm'd your ear full
With ſage advice, and, as a friend,
Taught you to be more careful.

Crouch low, and fawn, and loudly ſwear,
This kingdom's bleſt ſupremely;
That Britons ſcarcely know a care,
And ——— is lov'd extremely.

Say ſome great folks do not receive
Enough to keep their horſes,
And in their breaſts you do believe
They know not what remorſe is.

(And here no figure you will uſe
Of *irony*, or ſuch like,
Since ſome folks, ſpite of what they chuſe,
Muſt own the picture's much like.)

Say true nobility is found
Alone where lofty birth is;
Aſſert it never can abound
Where humble truth and worth is.

Swear our Conſtitution's giv'n
To be a conſtant ſource of joy;
Say 'tis the choiceſt gift of Heav'n,
A bleſſing pure, without alloy.

Aſſert we're fairly repreſented,
And the poor from want protected;
That crimes by culture are prevented,
And laws to public good directed.

Swear our taxes are but trifles,
And the nation's debt a joke;
That Pitt the public never rifles,
Nor his promiſe ever broke.

Say wars are plainly taught by *Jeſus*;
Say Scottiſh Judges teem with mercy;
Say there are no ills to teaze us;
Say none condemn'd are on hearſay.

Stop! Daniel; hold your furious rage;
Oh! you're a harden'd ſinner;
You'll ne'er ſay this, I dare engage,
Though pining for a dinner.

OLD HUBERT.

☞ We inform our Correſpondent G. B. that on the Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Gentleman who then edited this Work choſe to decline continuing it; and that G. B.'s Favour muſt have been loſt among that Gentleman's papers.——If he will remit the preſent Editor another Copy, he may depend on it's immediate inſertion.

Politics for the People.

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1795.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

If you deem the incloſed worthy an inſertion in your Periodical Publication, you will oblige an enemy to War, a lover of Peace, and a ſincere friend to Liberty.

C. C. REP.

To EARL STANHOPE, the Friend of Virtue and Liberty.

SIR,

THE glorious diſplay you have made of the principles that actuate your mind, the ſtriking example you have exhibited of wiſdom and virtue, ſuperior to the tempting influences of your exalted ſtation, ſhall at the ſame moment crown your temples with never-fading laurels, and blaſt the ſhort-lived chaplets of your enemies.

The

The duty you owed your God and Country, is now diſcharged. Methinks I hear the faint voice of enſlaved Britannia, groaning her thanks. She beholds her champion, and for a moment forgets her chains, and ſmiles approbation. But again the painful laſh of her mercileſs tyrants, baniſhes the pleaſing idea: deſpondency fills her ſoul, the enervated ſtate of her ſons, more ambitious for bondage, than willing to exert themſelves in the cauſe of Liberty, and the great and extenſive power of her rulers, *tyrannic rulers*, almoſt excludes hope.—But the cauſe of Liberty is the cauſe of God, and Religion; and under his auſpices it ſhall flouriſh. He will hurl to everlaſting deſtruction, all its enemies.—Perſevere therefore, O thou modern Sydney, in the noble cauſe you are engaged in; nor fear the frowns of tyrannic malice, nor the poiſonous ſting of all the hydras of deſpotiſm. The ſhield of virtue they may ſtrike at, but can never pierce.—Your heart conſulted the true intereſts of the people, in all your actions: the eyes of the nation are fixed on you, and demand a continuance of ſuch exertions. Though appearances are at preſent gloomy, and future proſpects dark; yet God can, and will bring order out of confuſion: and from the darkneſs of midnight, ſhall ſpring up a light, more powerful than that of the meridian ſun. The ſatellites of Deſpots ſhall behold it and tremble; bound with thoſe chains they forged for the people, they ſhall grace the Triumph of Freedom. Then, then will you receive an ample reward for your ſervices, the thanks of a generous free nation; you will be regarded as the Saviour of your country, and enjoy all the reſpect and honour a noble mind can deſire.

I have addreſſed this letter to you, Sir, ſolely to expreſs my thanks and acknowledgments, for the motion brought for-

forward by you for putting an end to this horrid war. I love my Country, and I love all thoſe who love her; and I hope the endeavors of a Stanhope will not always prove fruitleſs in preſerving Britain from deſtruction. With the faint hope of ſoon viewing her emerging from the whirlpool of Deſpotiſm, I wiſh you to believe, that you poſſeſs a ſincere admirer and friend in

C. C.

A Curious PRAYER for the Faſt Day.

ADDRESSED TO THE BISHOPS.

THE prayer which our biſhops put into the mouths of all the inhabitants, the laſt faſt day, ſupplicating that God would inſpire the French with a ſpirit of cowardice, and animate the combined troops with a contempt for death, ſeems to have been anſwered by the very reverſe, as the combined generals have on every occaſion confeſſed, that the furious bravery of the French was irreſiſtible, by beating and ſlaughtering the allies in every rencounter, and driving them on all ſides like ſheep before hounds; it is therefore probable, that their reverences will not riſk a repetition of the ſame prayer, on the next faſt day, for fear that the Multitude ſhould begin to ſuſpect that their reverences have not near ſo much influence in the court above as they have in the courts *below:* the ſaid prayer ſeems to be rather irreverend, aſking the Almighty to concur with Deſpots in ſlaying his creatures. With equal propriety, in my opinion, might we deſire the father of a numerous family to ſet himſelf at the head of one half of it, to murder the

the other half, whom he loved equally dear and tender. Therefore, as their reverences may be at a loſs for a more ſubmiſſive form of prayer for the approaching faſt day, I ſubmit the following, for them to add to, or ſubtract from, as may beſt ſuit their *piety*.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, the God of harmony and of peace, as it hath not pleaſed thee to grant our prayer of the laſt faſt day, viz. that the French might be ſeized with a ſpirit of cowardice, and our troops with a contempt for death, we now moſt humbly ſupplicate, that, if it be conſiſtent with thy great plan of providence, thou wouldeſt cauſe the cruelties of war to ceaſe in all lands: and to accompliſh this deſirable end, let all cruel Tyrants and bloody Deſpots be made viſible monuments of thy diſpleaſure; and, in thine own good time, ſweep them from the earth.

With theſe we would include wicked miniſters of ſtate in all countries, unjuſt judges and magiſtrates, and corrupt legiſlators, who, through the view of aggrandizing themſelves and their families, concur in the infernal politics of miniſters, to kindle the flame of war, by which the children of the induſtrious are murdered in bloody battles, and their parents harraſſed with taxes and grievous exactions, bringing a world of miſery and diſtreſs upon millions. Let all theſe be made living monuments of thy diſpleaſure; and at laſt utterly deſtroy them, and let their places be filled with honeſt and upright men, fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs.

Let the agents of the wicked one‡ (who aſſociate for the purpoſe of filling the minds of the ignorant with

‡ Alluding, as we ſuppoſe, to Judge Reeves's aſſociates and publications.

malice

malice and hatred againſt neighboring nations, in order to excite them with furious rage to murder each other) be put to ſhame and confuſion, and their places know them no more.

We would humbly intreat thee to look to the vineyard which thy Son hath planted in the earth. Behold, Antichriſt has ſtrewed it with many poiſonous weeds; let them be rooted out, and pull him down from all the high places of the earth, where he has ſeated himſelf, under the cloak of the religion of Jeſus, whether in papal Rome, where he has been permitted to rear his lofty fabric with infernal art; or in proteſtant hierarchies and dignities, where, with refined ſubtilties, he would, if poſſible, deceive the very elect. Let his cloven foot appear to all, that all may fear, and fly from his beguiling ſnares to the fountain of true religion—the glorious goſpel—to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digeſt it.

We thank thee, that it hath pleaſed thee to reſcue a large province from the tyrannic ſway of Antichriſt. O may the goſpel, in its primitive purity and ſimplicity, find its way to the hearts of that People, that other nations may ſee it, and break off the chains of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, by which they have been taught to invoke a thouſand imaginary interceſſors, whereas, there is but the one interceſſor, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous.

Let all the nations of the world conſider themſelves as children of the one Almighty Parent; that brotherly love may dwell in every heart; ſo haſten the happy time, when the knowledge of the Lord ſhall cover the earth, as the waters fill the channels of the ſeas. *Amen.*

No. II.

More Wonderful Wonders ! ! !

THE High and Illuſtrious Signor GULIELMO PITTACHIO rejects, with lofty indignation, the abſurd inſinuations of the vulgar, which imply that he means to defer, to a later date than was by himſelf announced, his

AWFUL EXHIBITION AT WESTMINSTER.

No—he here pledges himſelf (and if his Memory fail not he will keep his word), that immediately after the meeting of Parliament he will certainly make a general diſplay of

ALL HIS TRICKS,

As mentioned in the preceding notice which he deigned to give

HIS ADORING PUBLIC.

And further, he will produce ſome extraordinary effects upon the MONEY of his auditors and ſpectators, of which he will conſiderably leſſen the value, by

The ſimple Operation of his Breath.

The GREAT PITTACHIO is no Katterfelto, no Mountebank Graham; he has no BLACK CAT in his Service—no GODDESS OF HEALTH; but if he derives any aſſiſtance from what is not human, it is only

From the bluſhing ROSE, or the pointed STEEL.

The

The ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNOR appeals for his Character, —not to the ſtarving Manufacturer, or the contemptible poor, but to all the COURTS of EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, and CORSICA. They will acknowledge all his titles, his powers, and his pretenſions—they know him to be

The Sublime WONDER *of the* WORLD!

F. L. T.—C. E. *Proudatiſsimus—Winum guzzleando potentiſsimus—Prettygirlibus indifferentiſsimus—Warcarryoniſsimus, Reformationis inimiciſsimus—& Filius Bitchæ damnatiſsimus.*

Theſe honorable diſtinctions THE PITTACHIO brings not forth to boaſt of, but only

To annihilate his Detractors.

For all other particulars he refers the whole world to his former publication, which ſo forcibly operated upon has

The Muſcles of Mankind.

At this time, when *Britiſh Charity* is ſo conſpicuous, THE PITTACHIO will not remain in *Shade;* he therefore may probably be induced, in the courſe of a few months, having been diſappointed of the ROPE-DANCERS he *wiſhed* to have ENGAGED, to cloſe his wonderful performances, by

EXHIBITING HIS OWN PERSON ON THE

TIGHT ROPE,

For the Benefit of the SWINISH MULTITUDE.

Vivant Rex & Regina.

LETTER TO A KING.

SIR,

I Deſcend not to the fearful, adulatory language of a courtier, nor to the wily ſervility of a miniſter, when I addreſs myſelf to you. Unlike the paraſitic minion of a court, I confeſs that I neither quake with fear nor tremble with agitation at a nearer approach to human majeſty. Were the ears of kings ever open to popular complaint, and their eyes ever watchful to national diſtreſs, they would not have to lament a diſaffection of their ſubjects, produced by callous indifference, or a mutinous turbulence, the offſpring of an inſulting difregard to public happineſs. Man was born for much nobler purpoſes than to be tamely patient of wrongs ſo eaſily removed as the oppreſſion of a monarch. Shall man be conſumed by a flame which he himſelf feeds with ſo unſparing a hand? Shall the foundation be overbalanced by the ſuperſtructure? Shall he fall down and worſhip an image, the work of his own hands? Yes—if he wills it, let him worſhip the idol, where he is the artificer! Let him periſh under the ruins, where he is the architect! Let him be conſumed by the fire, where he is the fuel! It is the privilege of man to be uncontrouled in intellectual pleaſures, and to be unreſtrained in the enjoyment of all evils and miſeries which are not contagious and epidemic.

But if it ſhould ever happen that one part of the people of a country enjoy excluſively the common rights of nature and of ſociety, and imperiouſly deny the other part of the people a participant enjoyment of thoſe rights, and withhold from them the common courſe of juſtice and equality —then it will be allowed by every rational man, that the people have a juſt claim of a remedy to the exiſting grievance. So far in ſyllogiſtic order have I advanced—*that the people have a right to a remedy*. I will ſuppoſe for a moment that this imaginary government is of a mixed form, and (for the ſake of argument) that it is governed by king, lords, and commons. Next, that the common modes of the repreſentation and ſtatement of grievances, on the part of the people, are, by petition to the Commons, or Lords, and by a memorial or remonſtrance to the King. To purſue this hypothetical ſyllogiſm, I will ſuppoſe that petitions *are* ſent to the Commons, and Lords, and that memorials and remonſtrances *are* preſented to the King, and that theſe petitions,

titions, memorials and remonſtrances are found, upon repeated applications, to be uſeleſs and diſregarded. It is already eſtabliſhed *that the people have a right to a remedy*. At the ſame time, phyſically ſpeaking, a right is no right, but a non-entity, if merely ideal, and not enjoyed. Therefore the concluſion is, *that the people muſt remedy their own grievances*. To effect this they muſt unite, and throw off at once their inactivity and their allegiance, and then, in ſuch a caſe as I have ſtated in this hypotheſis—inſurrection becomes a ſacred and a ſolemn duty. They ought immediately to diſſolve all the powers that be, and conſtitute ſuch a ſyſtem of government as will have for its baſis, liberty, equality, and juſtice. I hope, Sir, and truſt in God that the Engliſh people will never again be reduced to ſuch a dreadful dilemma; but if they be, I am confident they will execute this taſk of juſtice, with an unſhrinking firmneſs and an unwavering fidelity. If ever that awful period ſhould arrive, it is more than probable that the people will no longer pay that religious homage little ſhort of idolatry to the trappings of royalty. You might then, in the words of the unfortunate Charles, lament and deplore the mighty fall of that Pagan temple wherein your image was worſhipped: and weep over its ruins in bitter exclamation, "We may be waited on bare-headed; we "may have our hand kiſſed; the ſtyle of Majeſty continued "to us, and the King's authority, declared by both houſes "of Parliament, may be the ſtyle of your commands; we "may have Swords and Maces carried before us, and pleaſe "ourſelf with the ſight of a Crown and Sceptre, (and yet even "theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon "which they grew were dead) but as to *true* and *real power*, "we ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, but the "ſign of a King."* Since the Revolution of 1688, the Engliſh have had much leſs to fear from their Kings, than from their State Miniſters; much leſs from a boundleſs prerogative than from a boundleſs influence. Thank God! I am not one of thoſe ſanguinary alarmiſts who plunge into one tyranny to avoid another—in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim; not one of thoſe fanatic wretches who preſcribe to your ſubjects a ſyſtem of coercive loyalty; nor am I one of thoſe ignorant dupes to the low arts of a Miniſter, who think that a King or his government can be ſupported by unmeaning clamors, or trumpery ſongs in a Play-houſe.

An Engliſhman likes noiſe, and is amuſed with it the ſame as a child is with a rattle, but the rattle will not always

* Charles I's addreſs in anſwer to the nineteen Propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament.

pleaſe:

pleaſe: when his underſtanding has arrived at its adult ſtate, the toy will be thrown away and the old nurſe diſcarded.—I am not, I confeſs, without my fears that all does not go well in your kingdom, and my loyalty, as well as that of every rational man, muſt be ſhaken, upon this reflection alone, that more than a third part of your people *are ſtarving*, when the land alone would ſupport four times the population. If you look round among your ſubjects you will find that by ſome miſmanagement or other, the middling orders of men are very rapidly indeed merging into the lower claſs; ſo much ſo that after a very ſhort-lived protraction of the preſent ſyſtem, this moſt uſeful of all the claſſes of ſociety will be totally extinct. The bulk of the poor, who form more than one third of all your ſubjects, are *abſolutely ſtarving*, and yet they are loyal. Your kingdom contains upwards of nine millions of inhabitants, and *three millions are ſtarving*. Your profligate nobility are ſquandering away what would ſupport them all—*but three millions are ſtill ſtarving*. This country alone under a better ſyſtem of regulation and under a better cultivation, would ſupport in the exuberance of enjoyment, more than ſixteen millions of ſouls—yet in a population of nine millions *three millions are ſtill ſtarving*. The horſes, dogs, and other uſeleſs animals that are maintained in this kingdom, devour and conſume much more than would ſupport all the poor of the land---*yet three millions of human beings are ſtill ſtarving*. Nature is not niggard of her bounties in theſe realms, but on the contrary moſt liberally and even luxuriantly profuſe in the gift of her ſtores---*yet three millions are abſolutely ſtarving*. One would almoſt ſuppoſe from this that the whole earth and all its fruits and treaſures were deſigned by the great Creator for the rich and moſt abandoned orders of men alone, to the total excluſion of the poor and induſtrious, who ſeem to be formed for nothing elſe but miſery, want, and ſlavery, But governments are at the root of all theſe evils wherever they exiſt. Let this then be the burthen of our ſong, in the very boſom of plenty *three millions of Britons are ſtarving*. Let it ring in the ears of theſe hardened and titled wretches who ſwarm like locuſts over this beautiful and fruitful land, and who thus with impunity trample on the laws of juſtice and humanity. Let it echo through every work-houſe in the land, and through every cottage, if they are not all as yet depopulated. Oh! deluded people of England, when will you open your leaden eyes? Do you call it loyalty, to ſupport by your ill-judged clamors ſuch a ſyſtem as this? Can you hug your chains and call it luxury? Can you ſuffer

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yourſelves to be ſtarved, and call it affection to your King? Can you with an unruffled countenance bear the daily increaſing burthens of an exterminating war, and the lawleſs depredation of your petty tyrants, and by way of juſtification, ſay, government muſt be ſupported? Hie you to the beaſts, and you will not find a parallel of ſuch ſervility! "Servi aëre parati, injuſta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, imperio nati aëquo animo ſervitutem tolleratis?—Atque ſunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavêre? "Homines ſceleratiſſimi, cruentis manibus, immane avaritiâ, "nocentiſſimi, idemque ſuperbiſſimi, quibus fides, decus, "pietas, poſtremo honeſta, atque inhoneſta omnia quaeſtui "ſunt."—The garriſon may be tenable a little longer, through the blind reſpect that the miſguided and ignorant part of the people have for thoſe who enſlave them, but the moſt loyal troops, when not granted ſupplies of proviſion in the midſt of plenty, would ſoon deſert their ſtandard to ſatisfy the louder calls of hunger. So by analogy of reaſoning will the people of England ſoon be weaned from their bigoted loyalty, if withheld much longer from the common bounties of nature. Although from the zealous machinations of thoſe who ſtile themſelves 'friends to Church and 'King,' they may *now* look upon their deliverers as a dangerous ſort of men, who would undermine received principles and opinions, yet the time may come when the preſent loyal conſpiracy againſt every thing that is near and dear to the people, may be diſcovered and laid open to public view, and this too long deluded nation will then find out that theſe noiſy 'friends to Church and King' are in truth friends to bigotry and intolerance, and that theſe boaſted friends to Government are really friends to perſecution, tyranny and oppreſſion. It is then that Reeves and Windham, the Cethegus and Catiline of your ſtate, will be arraigned at the tribunal of truth, and their accumulated and monſtrous deeds of darkneſs brought to light.

But I take it for granted, Sir, that you are unacquainted with the wretched and hopeleſs ſtate of your people, and an entire ſtranger to their grievous and deſpairing condition; for how can a King have even an idea of poverty, amidſt the ſplendor of a palace, or of famine, when ſurrounded and almoſt overwhelmed with the luxuries of the world? If you *did* know what your people ſuffer, and what they *have* ſuffered ever ſince you aſcended the throne, I ſhould not have a great veneration either for the wiſdom of your head, or the goodneſs of your heart. I can however eaſily conceive that you think we are in a thriving and proſperous

ſtate,

ſtate, unoppreſſed by a tyrannical Miniſter, a bigoted clergy, corrupt judges, or bluſtering attorney-generals—that we are *unburthened* with taxes, and bleſſed with an increaſing and uninterrupted flow of Commerce. If theſe *are* your opinions, what a pity it is that there is not a *univerſal* concurrence with you, throughout this ſtubborn and diſaffected kingdom, and then, in comprehenſion, what a free and happy people we ſhould become! No domeſtic cares would then break in upon the general harmony, but all would be joy, delight, and feſtivity. As Mr. Drake would expreſs it, it would be a jubilee of ecſtacy!—At the ſame time however I confeſs, that were I a King, and for a moment to *doubt* of the happineſs of my ſubjects, I would cheerfully relinquiſh every ſubordinate pleaſure for the more ſatisfactory reflection of being certain that my ſubjects were happy; for although the pleaſures of a fox-chace may be great, yet they cannot equal the ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing the comfort, welfare, and happineſs of an empire.

PHILEUTHEROS.

METAPHYSICAL COURT LOGIC.

AS Politics ſeem ſo much to draw forth the attention of the People, I ſhall lay down the reaſoning of a courtier, which, as it conſiſts more in ſubtilty than argument, renders it worthy of being ſtiled metaphyſical reaſoning. Their mental fabrications are limited to acquiring money alone; as they place their *ſummum bonum* in this, for the ſole purpoſe of depreſſing the People, and filling the Treaſury. As logic conſiſts of ſubjects, prædicates, and prepoſitions, we muſt define them according to their order. The ſubject is clearly oppreſſion, and the prædicate muſt be, (is their chief aim) and the propoſition is, that every good flows from money, but this produces corruption; clearly the concluſion follows that from corruption ſprings every good. Their ideas or otherwiſe (*thoughts*) are more concerned about ways and means, which to define more diſtinctly, the former are taxes either coercive or voluntarily, and the latter a cinque. They

(courtiers)

(courtiers) admit four claſſes of ideas,—complex, which is an aggregate of taxes and oppreſſions—clear, which is when ſobriety and honeſty accompany them,—diſtinct, when the thought, are limited to the benefit of the Courthack—and adequate when their oppreſſions meet their expectations. Of the firſt there are many, becauſe taxes increaſe in a quadruple proportion of the time,—of the ſeſecond but few, being but few honeſt or ſober Courthacks, —of the third and fourth numbers, for always are they in an increaſing proportion. They admit no vacuum, as the cinque is always full, and their motions are produced by inſtinct, though an infinity of ſpace is allowed, as war always increaſes ſpace and diminiſhes body. Power, which is to do all the miſchief they can by diminiſhing moving ſubſtances and making an infinite ſpace, is one of their chief principles, and both active and paſſive they exerciſe, contrary to true reaſoning.—They principally uſe the cinque to hold the droſs of England, and this dirt all flows into a Pitt of large extent—argument two fold they uſe,—ignorant and abſurd,—ignorant becauſe demonſtration is never uſed, nor is their language well known ; and abſurd, becauſe the cauſes never produce ſatisfactory effect—they admit ſometimes of a modeſt argument in caſes receiving places—their aſſociation of ideas conſiſt of an aggregate of oppreſſions, belligerent tranſactions, pedeſtrial and equeſtrian military exerciſes, nautical preparations, dormitical and bombaſtical cogitations and jeſuitical principles combined into one.

Their uſe of metaphyſics is to deceive the People, and, be not deceived, we muſt admit of one thing, that ſome are not abſolute court philoſophiſts, but lovers of it. In reſpect of their ideas of infinity, being ſtiled terreſtrial deities, they admit no ſuch ideas (ſave infinity of oppreſ-

ſion)

ſion). With reſpect of their ideas of ſpirits, they admit they walk (*poſt mortem*) into the cinque. Their philoſophy is of three branches, one conſiſts of a million of brilliants, which annually appear; the ſecond of four or five hundred leſſer planets, which appear more or leſs bright in proportion to their change of diſtances among the ſtars. And the third branch are comets, which always have tails, and differ from others by their being placed below the ſtars, and always appearing together. Velocity is proportional, and increaſes as the diſtance among the ſtars.

Such are ſtate philoſophers; and I doubt not but in time their number will be as infinite as the ſtars, unleſs a total eclipſe of the ſun happens, from which they receive their light, which muſt annihilate thoſe moving conſtellations, and render our globe more clear, by extirpating bodies ſituated to draw away light from all nations.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ.

LINES to be addreſſed to Citizen T. PAINE, after the Reſtoration.

IMMORTAL PAINE! undaunted hero! hail!
Thou great reſtorer of thy Country's weal!
Thou radiant ſun! averſe to lawleſs reign—
To ſound thy name, O for a loftier ſtrain.
When Albion groan'd beneath deſpotic ſway,
And tamely ſtood a Court's ignoble prey;
When lawleſs Courtiers robb'd the lab'rers gain,
And artful wretches held unlawful reign;
When poverty taxation's offspring ſpread,
And ſubtle miniſters would tax the dead;

Then

Then Paine aroſe, exulting o'er his foes,
And taught the People Freedom's ſacred laws.
Princes beheld, and trembl'd at his nod,
As tho' the earth had ſhook with an avenging god!
Taught by example from the Gallic world,
Whence haughty Deſpots down to Styx were hurl'd,
Inſulted Britain ſaw the dire intrigue—
At once diſdain'd to hold the ſervile league.
Our foes diſarm'd, no more we live in awe—
In mean ſubjection to oppreſſive law;
No more we ſee the ſable arts prevail
Of ſenators againſt the public weal;
No more with Mars to hoſtile plains we roam—
All is ſerenity and peace at home:
The law, tyrannic, of diſtinction's gone:
'Tis equal liberty for ev'ry one.
O then, what thanks to thee, Great Paine! we owe;
Thou who didſt ſtay the rage of civil woe.
For all thy toil may grateful praiſe be giv'n—
May kindred ſeraphs waft thee hence to heav'n!

J. D.

THE PROSPECT OF EMIGRATION.

"*Where Liberty is, there is my Country.*"

HARK! how the charming notes of Freedom ſound,
That erſt were heard along th' Olympic ſtrand;
Each attic flower revives on Britiſh ground,
And rude Oppreſſion flies the favour'd land.

I hear the ſpecious ſtateſman's fair pretence,
Who in the public good forgets his own;
The prieſt declaims upon the moral ſenſe,
And Juſtice dictates from her legal throne

De-

Deluſive dream !—while Truth and Reaſon wage
Th' unequal fight with Cuſtom's tyrant ſway,
While titled Childhood rules experienc'd Age,
And men to men an impious homage pay.

E'en Juſtice mourns her ancient glories gone,
Penſive :—as late at *Scotia*'s bar ſhe ſtood,
While ermin'd Vice uſurp'd her awful throne,
And courtiers thirſted for a patriot's blood !

Yet Britain's ſons may realize their boaſt,
And Freedom ſtill her Gallic children ſave ;
Or ſhould ſhe fly from Europe's ſervile coaſt,
Her ſteps I'd trace beyond the weſtern wave.

There Art may rove o'er Nature's ample field,
Unfetter'd Learning ſearch on eagle wing,
What wealth the boundleſs worlds of ſcience yield ;
And there the Muſes touch no venal ſtring.

Nor o'er thoſe meads ſhall frown th' embattled dome,
Rear'd by ſome haughty Tyrant of the ſoil,
But Independence glad the peaſant's home,
And Plenty recompenſe his willing toil.

There all the children of one bounteous Sire
In friendſhip join, on Nature's equal plan,
To Virtue's true nobility aſpire,
And boaſt alike the *dignity of Man.*

CIVIS MUNDI.

We are obliged to poſtpone G. B. till our next.

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1795.

On the PIETY *of the Ruſſian Court.*

Oracle, Janry. 7th. 1795.

The Leyden Gazette of the 26th December contains two articles of news from different parts of Europe, which it is important to place next to each other. The firſt is from Warſaw, and relates the taking of Praga, a ſuburb of that metropolis, in theſe words:

"THE attack began at five o'clock in the morning; at nine the enemy was in poſſeſſion of the place. Five thouſand Poles were ſlain in the aſſault, the remaining five thouſand (for there were only ten thouſand ſoldiers in the town, and the Ruſſians were thirty thouſand ſtrong) were taken priſoners or diſperſed. After the battle was over, the Ruſſians proceeded to diſarm the citizens, and to plunder their houſes. When this was over, and every thing appeared to be quiet, ten hours after all reſiſtance had ceaſed, about nine

nine o'clock at night, they ſet fire to the town, and began to butcher the inhabitants. The ſick and the wounded periſhed in the flames; the reſt, old men, women, and children, fell by the ſword. Nine thouſand perſons of every age, and of either ſex, are computed to have fallen in the maſſacre, and the whole ſuburb, except a few ſcattered houſes, was reduced to aſhes."

The other article is from Peterſburgh, dated the 2d of December, and is as follows:

"The day before yeſterday, Major General D'Iſlinieff arrived here *with the news of the reduction of Warſaw by the troops of the Empreſs.*—Yeſterday was ſet apart as a day of ſolemn thankſgiving to God, and *Te Deum* was ſung for this important event."

What is the impiety which, according to ſome, prevails in France, to this act of oſtentatious and ſolemn blaſphemy! If it were poſſible to ſuppoſe that thoſe who acted a part in it really believed they were performing an act of religion, how much more dreadful would ſuch religion be than the moſt determined Atheiſm!

Melancholy and diſconſolate indeed is the idea, that this world is the ſport of a blind chance, and that death will conſign the beſt and the worſt of mankind for ever to one common oblivion: but how much more terrible would it be to ſuppoſe the univerſe under the government of, and mankind accountable for their actions to, ſuch a God as is worſhipped at Peterſburgh! to a being who is ſuppoſed to aſſiſt the arms, and enjoy the triumph of powerful oppreſſion over perſecuted virtue and innocence, and to delight in ſeeing his altars ſtream with the blood of women and children, and in hearing his praiſes chaunted by the voices of murderers, and in the midſt of the ſhrieks and groans of his victims.

To

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

BROTHER GRUNTER,

In the preſent ſituation of affairs I am led to form a contraſt between you and our Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Government.—You muſt find politics for the people, and he find people for politics. If theſe few abſtracted, incoherent gruntings may be favorably received into the general waſh tub, you will encourage a maiden pig to grunt more forcibly in future.

A MOMENTARY RHAPSODY.

ALL hail, wiſe, omnipotent and immaculate Pitt! to thy great ſelf alone is this country indebted for the ineſtimable bleſſings ſhe now enjoys through thy manifold grace and favors.

Hail, ſwiniſh Britons! Lift up your ſnouts and grunt aloud: rejoice and welcome in the day on which your heav'n born deliverer has completed the happineſs of millions of grunting ſouls.

The day! the auſpicious day has now arrived, when the herd are ſecure in their civil liberties by the joint efforts and energy of the herdſmen called Miniſters, with all their accurſed and profligate dependencies, attorneys and ſolicitors general, with all the mercenary train of hirelings and ſycophants, aſſiſted by the reſpectable addition of ſpies, informers, &c. Hogs may now grunt as they pleaſe, murmur if they dare, and live as they can.

Our gracious owner and farmer, God give reſt to his ſoul! to encreaſe our ſwiniſh love to him, has with much ſapience placed a part of the government of our glorious ſqueaking conſtitution, in the hands of thoſe whom in his moſt exalted wiſdom he thinks moſt capable and willing to make

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the beſt market of it. Now is the happy time, when our apprehenſions of being dragged by the ears out of our ſties by that banditti of herdſmen called preſs-maſters, is happily at an end. No, brother, our herd begins to be illumined; we no longer feed on husks, we are fattened by promiſes which ever is accounted rich food from the hand of a courtier; inſtead now of making, according to the old and obſolete term, an acquiſition of us, it is ſoftened into the more modern, pleaſing, and agreeable term, of making a requiſition on us, it is a more palatable reliſh to the ſwiniſh multitude; hereby all the alarms of our herd are baniſhed, our fears diminiſhed, our hopes encouraged, our ideas enlarged, and our happineſs completed.

Beat the ground with your cloven hoofs, let the ambient air reſound with ſqueaks and grunts, diſplay in curling tendrils your taper tails, ye happy pigs, in commemoration of that day on which a pit was formed. Leſt ſome ſhould miſtake me, I humbly crave leave to ſqueak: it is not a pit or ſink of perfidy, of iniquity, of over-ruling and over-reaching power, but a humble pit of grains. May every pit be a pit of itſelf, to itſelf, and for itſelf, is the wiſh of true grunters.

Conſidering the character of influential, deſpotic, over-ruling, over-reaching, and murder-manufacturing farmers, with all their train of diabolical dependencies, there is no room left for me to grunt my opinion, but I would wiſh juſt to ſqueak out, that in a pig's belief *the inherent and impreſcriptible rights of the ſwiniſh herd* are extinct, and that *common ſenſe* is with us dwindled into inſtinct. By which I am led to conſider myſelf as totally ſurrounded by countries inhabited by the brute creation, and in a train of ſucceeding ideas, conceive the National Convention of France and the French nation to be governed by that exalted and noble characteriſtic Leo,---that of the Engliſh by ſwine, at leaſt it

is

is or ought to be ſo,---the Empreſs a harpy, or tyger if you pleaſe,---the Emperor a fawning cur, the King of Pruſſia a flea, whoſe ſervices when caught are not worth looking for, ---the Dutch a timid hare, bred from a cunning fox and a ſelfiſh ape,---the Danes and Swedes, rats in corners waiting the conflux of tide to get their prey,---America the generous horſe,---Spain the elephant entrapped, whilſt ſurrounding Germanic ſtates, petty kingdoms, &c. are aloof looking on, like ſparrows in a corner, whilſt the hawks are plucking the pigeon. Under theſe notions, however extravagant our ſwineherd has enabled us to draw at leaſt inſtinctive concluſions from. They have diſclaimed all ideas of impreſſing ſwine for foreign food to unrelenting ſteel, and in lieu thereof, have hired certain ſubmiſſive jackalls of the true *police breed*, being new begotten baſtards of Government on thoſe proſtitutes Immoderate Taxation and Uſurped Authority, in order to mediate a definitive treaty of peace, amity and concord, by the deſtructive and ruinous ſyſtem of famine at home and plunder abroad, with the noble and exalted ſpecies of the Lion citizens. For this very deſirable purpoſe a requiſition is made of 603 goats and 9015 ſwine to proceed in a body, as is uſually performed at St. Stephen's ſty, to be headed by George the farmer, and Pitt the bailiff, to treat with that monſter that hath vomited forth volcanos of fire over ſo many countries, either to bring him to implicit obedience, or, which is more likely, in their own fall, to annihilate the race of beaſts from the haunts of men.

I am, inſtinctively,

A PIG WITH ONE EAR.

Stye of Oppreſſion,
8th Febry. 1795.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

IT is the conſtant language of our preſent virtuous and *patriotic* judges, and the great maſs of court dependants, who are baſking in the ſunſhine of royal favor, to be laviſh in praiſe of our laws, and the eaſy attainment of juſtice by all deſcriptions of people, living in this happy iſland, where ſlavery and deſpotiſm are only known by name, but liberty is enjoyed to its utmoſt latitude, (that is, all the extent poſſible under a wiſe and well-regulated government.) How far their declarations are founded in truth, will be for you and our fellow-citizens to decide, after ſome obſervations I ſhall make, and which I have no doubt you will admit to be accurate.

Firſt. If we take a view of the eccleſiaſtical law, notwithſtanding the continuance of viſitations by biſhops, or thoſe deputed by them, to enquire into offences committed by either the clergy or laity, im their different dioceſes, no redreſs at this day can be obtained for any injury received in any other place, than (as the learned civilians inform you) in the proper courts in Doctors' Commons. For though the biſhops are commanded, by eccleſiaſtical law, to enquire into offences committed in their various dioceſes, and to hear preſentments made, if any offences have been committed, what is no leſs wonderful than true, they have no power to puniſh offenders, or in any way redreſs the aggrieved!—No! the hand of Juſtice is withheld, except thoſe who require redreſs are poſſeſſed of conſiderable property, and will contribute a large portion to ſatisfy the voracious appetites of the learned doctors, proctors, &c. who practiſe in the courts afore-

aforementioned, and in which courts ſuch cauſes are to be determined.

Next take a view of the practice of our common-law courts, where you will frequently ſee a poor plaintiff, by endeavoring to obtain a juſt demand, ruined by a rich and diſhoneſt defendant; and, on the contrary, a poor induſtrious defendant reduced to the greateſt neceſſity by an affluent and arbitrary plaintiff; and too frequently both plaintiff and defendant, through the villainy and artful perſuaſions of the numerous rapacious profeſſors, provoked into expenſive ſuits, which they are tempted to litigate with their creditors' property, for the purpoſe of filling the pockets of their ſolicitors—wretches callous to all the feelings of humanity—and who, too often, when they have reduced their credulous and unfortunate clients to the greateſt diſtreſs, ſend them paſſports and conductors to priſon, there to languiſh in the extremity of miſery and want, and reflect on the difference between the theory and practice of our *boaſted laws*.

It muſt appear obvious, that the extravagant and enormous expences attending the proſecution of actions in our various law-courts, for the recovery and protection of property, is attended with the moſt fatal conſequences—conſequences that too often reduce whole families to almoſt inconceivable diſtreſs, their property being wholly expended to ſupport, in the moſt luxurious manner, the learned advocates and their hoſts of jackalls, the ſpecial pleaders and attorneys.

In the year 1518, an act of Common-Council was paſſed, for eſtabliſhing a Court of Requeſts, or what is generally called a Court of Conſcience, in the city of London.

By

By this act it was ordered,

"That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for the time "being, ſhall monthly aſſign and appoint two aldermen "and four diſcreet commoners, to ſit at Guildhall, in a "judicial manner, twice in every week, viz. on Wed-"neſdays and Saturdays, there to hear and determine all "matters brought before them, between party and party, "being citizens, freemen of London, in all caſes where "the debt or damage does not exceed forty ſhillings."

This act was continued till the reign of James the Firſt, when it was made perpetual by Act of Parliament. At various ſubſequent periods numerous other courts have been authoriſed by Parliament for the ſame ſalutary purpoſes, of preventing trivial litigations in higher and more expenſive courts.

If we conſider the difference of the value of forty ſhillings in the year 1518, and that ſum in the preſent year, 1795, and that in the reign of James the Firſt, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the legiſlature ſaw the good effects produced by the ſummary mode of recovering ſmall debts in the then Court of Requeſts, in conſequence of which they paſſed an act to make it perpetual, which has been approved by every ſucceeding Parliament —can there be a doubt, if debts under twenty pounds were recoverable in ſome inferior court, in a ſummary way, where the coſts would be trivial, and if, after judgment, execution ſhould be iſſued in default of ſatisfying ſuch judgment, and againſt the body of the perſon againſt whom ſuch execution was iſſued, after impriſonment for a certain time (if impriſonment is neceſſary) there ſhould be a diſcharge out of cuſtody, and a releaſe for ſuch debt, but the greateſt benefits would accrue to the inhabitants of this nation? In my opinion none;—in ſupport of which

I ſhall

I ſhall take the liberty to requeſt you and my fellow-citizens to reflect on the preſent practice of our courts at Weſtminſter, where frequently, when the ſum in litigation does not exceed forty ſhillings, it is not determined with leſs than fifty pounds coſts, and the party who recover the verdict, inſtead of receiving the money which ſuch verdict is preſumed to give them, frequuently have to pay ſeveral pounds extra coſts to their ſolicitors.

In the 1 William and Mary, Seſſ. 2. it is declared, that exceſſive bail ought not to be required—that is, that no juſtices ſhall make ſo exceſſive a demand, under pretence of having ſufficient ſureties, as in effect amount to a denial of bail. But, Sir, at this day, when men happen to be in the unfortunate ſituation to be obliged to find ſureties for their appearance, to anſwer to various proſecutions upon various penal ſtatutes, without conſidering the ſituation in life of the defendant, two houſekeepers are required to ſwear themſelves worth five hundred pounds each, after all their juſt debts are paid, and to give bail to that amount. This may often eaſily be obtained by many a wealthy villain, which is as often impoſſible for a poor, honeſt and oppreſſed man to procure—conſequently is requiring exceſſive bail of thoſe ſo unfortunately ſituated, —But ſuch is the law!—It remains with you and my fellow-citizens to decide how far that law is founded in juſtice.

The oppreſſion of the exciſe and game-laws, the ſeverity of our criminal laws, and the great bulk of penal ſtatutes, are too well known to require any additional comments.

I believe it is a fact well known, that much money is ſwallowed up in the law department, by numerous ſinecure placemen:—but I am inclined to think a greater evil exiſts,

exiſts, that is, the various conſtructions that may be, and are, put on our great bulk of ſtatute laws, which are not only incomprehenſible to the great body of the people, who are preſumed to be acquainted with them, but alſo to the learned profeſſors, who are conſtantly expounding them widely different:—thus are many ruined by the uncertainty of the law.

If the Repreſentatives of the People (if ſuch they can be called) wiſhed to act for the good of the People (contrary proofs of which we experience daily) would not they, inſtead of references from one ſtatute to another, endeavor to reduce ſuch laws into one, and make the law comprehenſible to the meaneſt capacity? But I am confident this will never take place till the People have an equal repreſentation in Parliament, which, if once obtained, no doubt what has long been the deſire of the greater part of our fellow-citizens, would be acquired, ſhortening the duration thereof. The effect which that would produce muſt be obvious, as the members being elected only for a ſhort duration, the miniſter would not have time to tamper with them, to ſupport his flagitious meaſures;—and again, the time being ſhort, he could not offer ſufficient bounty to obtain a majority, as no doubt the demand would be great, as they would, in all probability, have but one opportunity of ſuch traffic, for their conſtituents would certainly, at the next election, diſmiſs them, and endeavor to ſend men of contrary deſcriptions, and who would uſe every exertion to promote the welfare, and ſupport the liberty, of Britons.

Freedom's Stye,
Jan. 29, 1795.

A LIBERTY PIG.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

Mr. EDITOR,

THE word "Alarmiſts" being at preſent much in vogue, and poſſibly its meaning not preciſely underſtood by many of your numerous readers, I flatter myſelf the following illuſtration, beginning with the cauſe that gave riſe to its introduction, may not meet with an unfavourable reception. And as I know of no better means of its gaining publicity, than through the channel of your valuable and admired Publication, I beg the favour of you to inſert it therein.

It is, Sir, to our very great ſorrow, very well known, that this country is engaged in a war, in conjunction with almoſt all Europe, againſt a nation which is making the greateſt ſtruggles for emancipating itſelf from the deſpotic oppreſſions of a rapacious and diabolical government, under which it groaned until the glorious Revolution of 1789. Bleſſed be thoſe noble and glorious ſpirits, who occaſioned it! Bleſſed be thoſe, who ſtill ſtruggle for the freedom of human reaſon, and all the great rights of human nature! The political rulers of the day, we find diſcourage enquiry, and the love of truth, as ſeditious and dangerous to the State and to the Church. We have the reaſons of religious cruelty and perſecution, which have hung their infernal clouds for ages over the world, under which nothing generous and manly could ever ſpring up; and which have rendered almoſt the face of this globe a general waſte traverſed by rivers of human blood. But now the benign lights of philoſophy and truth begin to illumine and gladden the world! Depotiſm, attended by cruelty and miſery, has too long ravaged the earth;

earth: it is high time even the name ſhould be obliterated from the annals of the world, and be buried with its worthleſs advocates in one common tomb.

For what then, I ſay, are we fighting? It cannot be for honour, intereſt or ſecurity; becauſe we have loſt neither, nor is there any danger of either being deſtroyed. It then neceſſarily follows, that we are waging war for the gratification and aggrandizement of a few ambitious and blood-thirſty individuals; who will receive the plunder, acquired by the ſhocking deſtruction of their fellow-creatures—their unfortunate countrymen! It appears alſo clear, that our endeavours are exerted to deprive others of thoſe rights and privileges they have recently obtained, but not yet quite firmly eſtabliſhed. Surely, the ſolicitude Miniſters ſeem to have, has for its foundation, an earneſt deſire to bring the people of France back to their former ſtate of ſlavery, that the people of this country may not have a pattern, which for its ſtriking beauties, they might manifeſt an inclination to imitate.

I cannot help indulging in the idea, that Mr. Pitt and his *honorable* colleagues think they perceive a ſtrong propenſity, in the generality of the people of this country, to exerciſe their dormant powers, by calling them into action for the redreſs of grievances, and to leſſen our almoſt inſupportable burthens. However, certain it is, ſuch were their thoughts when they deemed it expedient to diſpatch emiſſaries, (or what are uſually called by the epithet deſpicable hirelings, but now more properly ſpies and informers) into the cities, towns and villages, for the infamous and ſcandalous intention of raiſing *alarms* in men's minds that the State was in imminent danger of being ſubverted, in the ſame manner as a neighbouring nation, by perſons whom they were pleaſed to call "Jacobins and "Level-

" Levellers." By which artifice they excited a ſudden, but temporary commotion through the kingdom; and addreſſes to the king were vamped up, and preſented, from all the obſcure and rotten boroughs in the kingdom; and which, truly, were ſaid to be the voice of the whole community, rallying round the throne, offering to lay down their fortunes (and even their lives, if neceſſary!) in defence of our *admirable* and *bleſſed* Conſtitution! But God knows, we have found them to be mere empty profeſſions; for their money lies as quiet in their pockets, as the inſignificant ſcrolls of parchment they ſubſcribed do in their reſpective archives. So much for the ſupport of the generous and liberal-minded *Alarmiſts*.

Now, Sir, does it not appear one of the beſt ſchemes the devil ever ſet on foot for the deſtruction of John Bull—*alias* the Populace of England—*alias* the " Swiniſh Mul-" titude?" For by this fineſſe, Miniſters ſeized the opportunity as being favourable to their knaviſh and infernal plans. A pannic having diſſipated the rational powers of the people, and it having produced what they aimed at, a kind of ſtupor, which did not evaporate till it was too late, —till the end was accompliſhed;—in a word, until they found themſelves involved in a war with the Republic of France, for what reaſons they knew not: and actually remained ignorant until the ſurrender of Toulon, *in truſt* for Louis XVII. It was then diſcovered we were exhauſting mines of treaſure, and ſoaking the ſoil of a foreign country with ſtreams of human gore: For what? " Ay, there's the " rub;" why, (hear it all ye friends of freedom!) for no leſs than the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy and all its odious appendages, in that devoted country! but that is not all. Ye are called upon, and that in a tone not a little imperious, haughty, and peremptory, to furniſh a ſubſidy of

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no leſs a ſum than *ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling* per ann. or during the continuance of the war, for a notorious deſpot to maintain his part of the confederacy, which ſum, coupled with the *two hundred thouſand pounds* granted to the king of Sardinia—*mark*,—for the expreſs purpoſe of defending his own dominions, make together the enormous ſum of *nine hundred thouſand pounds*. Attend to this: (for truth is my idol) that there is a government in this our globe, (which for extent of territory, comparatively ſpeaking, this country bears no more analogy to, than the Iſle of Wight does to the main land) employs no more in its expenditure, through all its component parts, than one fifth of the above ſum; and not even one fifth of the amount of the *civil liſt* of this country; and notwithſtanding you will find that the whole adminiſtration of its government is, as Cæſar wiſhed the woman for his wife to be, not only chaſte and virtuous, but not even ſuſpected.* But to return to the conſideration of the war.

May I be allowed to aſk, what it ſignifies to us whether France is ruled by a monarchical, ariſtocratical, or democratical form of government, or whether all three? I anſwer, and what I think is neither repugnant to common ſenſe nor common juſtice, that the right is veſted in themſelves to chuſe and adopt what form they may think proper. But their neighbours are of a different opinion, being deſirous of framing a conſtitution for them; and are now puſhing thoſe opinions with their utmoſt vigour, at the point of the bayonet. A conduct ſo reprehenſible and infamous, could only be reconciled upon the ſcore of neceſſity or invitation; but both of which, it is indiſputable, this caſe is totally devoid of. If it were neceſſary, in ſup-

* America.

port

port of my aſſertions, to produce any evidence to prove the deſtructive and pernicious effects of this unparalleled war, one only would be abundantly ſufficient. What I allude to, is the diſtreſs and miſery to which the lower ranks of ſociety are reduced, and the dreadful extremities they are driven to by this raſh and imprudent ſtep of Miniſters. Before the commencement of human butchery, it was with much difficulty thoſe of low and narrow circumſtances were able to procure the common neceſſaries of life; but now, Oh! humanity ſhrinks back at the recital! numbers are utterly deſtitute of that ſmall portion of food, which is eſſentially requiſite to keep ſoul and body united; and literally ſtarve in "a land flowing with milk and honey." Numbers, it is true, protract their miſerable exiſtence, by entering into the navy and army, thereby bartering their liberty and free agency, for perpetual bondage and hardſhips of every kind. May I, Sir, have the effrontery in theſe days of *ſedition* and trouble, pregnant with ſo much miſchief to the ſtate, and while every ſtreet, tavern, coffeehouſe, &c. &c. ſwarms with the worſt of aſſaſſins, ſpies and informers I mean, and without incurring the diſpleaſure of the proſecuting (not to ſay perſecuting) officer of the crown, may I, I ſay, hazard a queſtion by aſking, Whom do all the good things ſtated above nouriſh? Is it the ingenious mechanic—is it the induſtrious labourer, who receives the benefit? No, no;—it is the very authors of their calamities, who ſolace themſelves in luxury and eaſe, paſſing their days and nights immerſed in all imaginable voluptuouſneſs, ſenſuality, and debauchery; and pay no more attention to the ſons and daughters of induſtry, than to the moſt contemptible reptile that creeps upon the face of the earth. Therefore, Sir, what appears concluſive to my ſhort-ſighted judgment is, that when the preſent cor-

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rupt and deſperate Miniſters have ſatiated their ravenous and avaricious deſires, they will recommend the remnant of the troops to be withdrawn from the cruſade; as they will then ſay that it will be impracticable to ſubdue the enemy (being an armed nation, in conſequence invincible) without a national bankruptcy; which they were well perſuaded at the outſet, muſt be the inevitable reſult of a war imprudently begun, and feebly and ignorantly conducted.

March 27th. 1794. G. B.

A NEW SONG.

THE time faſt approaches, when Tyrants in vain
Shall ſtrive to keep mortals in ſlavery and pain:
The net which they ſpread for our Patriots of late
Shall catch them themſelves, and reſign them to fate.

No blood-hunting ſpies ſhall we need to forſwear;
The widow, the orphan, their crimes ſhall declare;
The peaſant ſhall tell, tho' remembrance brings grief,
How impriſon'd he was, 'cauſe he aſk'd for relief.

E'en the Baſtilles aloud to the world ſhall proclaim
How many there famiſh'd for killing of game.
To number their crimes what a taſk would it be—
As well might I number the ſands of the ſea.

The reign of bright Reaſon will quickly be here—
Then clearly to all will their vices appear;
And babes yet unborn, as the parent records,
Shall liſp execrations on Kings, Prieſts, and Lords.

Politics for the People.

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1795.

A FAST SERMON,

Preached on the 25th Feb. 1795, (being the day appointed for a general faſt) by *Timothy Telltruth*, to a ſelect party of his ſwiniſh brethren in the renowned and antient borough of *Coddletown*, taken down in ſhort-hand by *Gregory Grunter*.

IT is with no ſmall degree of ſatisfaction, my ſwiniſh friends,—my fellow citizens, that I have permiſſion to addreſs you on this *hungry* occaſion. This is the day appointed for a *General Faſt*. Multitudes will aſſemble together this day—and for what? They will exultingly confeſs that they have ſlaughtered thouſands—nay, tens of thouſands of their fellow-creatures, and, by way of making atonement for their paſt tranſgreſſions, pray to the God of *all peace*, that he will be pleaſed to make them ſtill ſucceſsful in the trade of butchery, and enable them to ſlaughter

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as many thouſands more! O ſhameful ferocity—horrid impiety—moſt nefarious hypocriſy!—" But brethren I " hope"—I know " better things of you," and ſhall endeavour to penetrate your ſwiniſh minds with ſuch wholeſome and unadulterated truths, " that he who runs may " read," and underſtand.—Believe me, I preſume too much on your good underſtandings, to ſuppoſe for a moment that you will either deſpiſe me, or the ſimple language I make uſe of, becauſe I do not come recommended by corpulence of body, roſy cheeks, and rotundity of face;—and I cannot but perſuade myſelf, men and brethren, that you will pay me as much attention as though, arrayed in diſmal black, my perſon had been decorated with all the ridiculous inſignia of the prieſthood—and my head, reſembling the top of a ſnow-capt Alpine mountain, had been covered with a monſtrous large, full bottomed, and nicely powdered orthodox wig of divinity. I ſhall now, my brethren, call your attention to the words of my text, of which, in order to induce you to ſearch the ſcriptures, I ſhall trouble you with neither chapter nor verſe, and only burthen your memories in this age of *defective memory*. with the following paſſage: " *Then the devils entered into the ſwine, and* " *the herd ran violently down a ſteep place into the lake, and* " *were choked.*" An old divine, in diſcourſing on theſe words, divided his ſermon for the edification of his auditory into the two following heads:—viz. Firſt, " *Needs* " *muſt when the devil drives.*" And Secondly, " *The devil* " *always takes his hogs to a bad market.*" But I ſhall not, my brethren, as has been the cuſtom with divines, modern and antient, *perſonify the evil principle*, and deſcribe the Devil with " ſaucer eyes, and horns," and cloven feet. I ſhall not like a cuſhion thumper, from his Tub of Wiſdom, ſpiritualize the ſubject, but preſume to treat it in a rational

rational and political point of view—and in the firſt place, I ſhall prove to you, my brethren, that the great political Devil is a wicked, oppreſſive, and corrupt government.—For who, think you, was the great political Devil in the time of the Apoſtles, "who went about like a roaring lion "ſeeking whom he might devour?" Who, but that great, over-grown, and wicked beaſt of power, the Roman government? for did not the proud and inſolent Romans carry their arms and their conqueſts over almoſt every part of the then known world; and did they not deſtroy all whom they could not enſlave? Did not one of their moſt renowned and celebrated cut-throats invade and conquer this iſland?—But by the bye, although he conquered it, he did not meet with John Bulls quite ſo tame as the aggrieved and inſulted John Bulls of the preſent degenerate age. No, he met with an hoſt of heroes, who, had they been as well diſciplined, and as unanimous as they were courageous, would ſoon have made the tyrant of the world to bite the duſt, or forced their inſolent invaders to have ſought an aſylum in countries *before* enſlaved.——Trace the annals of hiſtory, my brethren, from its earlieſt period to the preſent time, and you will find that all wicked governments have been ſo many great political devils, enſlaving and deſtroying mankind: for who but a great political devil could have acted like a certain *European* government, which ſhall be nameleſs in this our day, and which has either bullied, or ſubſidized all the neighbouring Powers into a moſt cruel and wicked war? And now, my brethren, having eſtabliſhed my point ſo far, as I truſt, to leave not the ſhadow of a doubt upon your ſwiniſh minds, I ſhall in the next place make a few remarks upon the epithet—*ſwine*—and then cut ſhort the thread of my diſcourſe. I think, my friends, there is not a doubt

but

but what the *pious* author of the *Sublime and Beautiful* borrowed the idea of *ſwiniſh multitude* from my text, for who, think you, but beſotted, unthinking ſwine, would have ſubmitted, as people have in almoſt every age of the world, to the tyrannic oppreſſion and notorious wickedneſs of the great political Devils of the earth? Who, but unthinking and beſotted ſwine, would have permitted a few political Devils to have trained them up for deſtruction—to have engaged them in bloody quarrels and conflicts in which they had no concern—and to have led them on to fight with, and deſtroy each other like ſo many wild beaſts? But, my brethren, I truſt the deluſion is nearly at an end, and the happy period advancing with rapid ſtrides, when the human mind ſhall throw off all its ſhackles and prejudices; when all perſons ſhall feel their importance in the ſcale of being, and every ſlave riſe into the dignity of man—when the great political Devil that now oppreſſes and devours the earth, ſhall not only be chained for a thouſand years, but for ever and ever. *Amen!*

And now, my friends and fellow citizens, having candidly and diſpaſſionately diſcuſſed our ſubject, having anticipated the ſpeedy emancipation of the ſwiniſh herd, and committed their great tormenting Devil to the baſtille for life, we will conclude the ſervice by ſinging the following hymn, ſuitable to the occaſion; and which may be entitled,

A STERNHOLDIAN DITTY,

To the Tune of the 100*th Pſalm.*

ALL people that oppreſſed be,
Sing loud, in hopes of better days;
Shout and rejoice with cheerful glee,
And rend your ſwiniſh throats with praiſe.

Know

Know that your great Tormentor baſe,
Has but a period ſhort to reign ;
Though now a wretched ſwiniſh race,
You ſoon ſhall break the *Devil*'s chain.

Back to your homes return with joy,
To hungry faſting bid adieu ;
Soon ſhall your grinders find employ,
Good beef is roaſting now for you !

For why ?—ſince plenty be in ſtore,
Should not your grumbling paunches find
Pork, beef, and pudding evermore,
And FAST LIKE BISHOPS---to your mind ?

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

NOTWITHSTANDING the explanation given by the long robed gentlemen on the late trials of the Scottiſh Patriots, of many fraternizing expreſſions and phraſes, borrowed from the *wicked* and *atheiſtical* French, had given ſome perſons very *alarming* ideas of a variety of words which they had formerly deemed perfectly innocent, yet I believe not one of the ſeditious epithets in the *Alarmiſt's vocabulary* has ever been marked with ſuch manifeſt opprobrium as that ancient and honorable term *Citizen*. The bare mention of this epithet has frequently ſounded like a clap of thunder in the ears of an Ariſtocrat, and forced a whole company of *Alarmiſts* to fly to arms. —But believe me, Citizen Editor, that none of his Majeſty's liege ſubjects could have held this criminal word in greater deteſtation than the royal and ſapient inhabitants

of the ancient and renowned borough of *Coddletown*, amongſt whom I have the honor and happineſs to reſide. —To have called a man of *Coddletown* by the name of *Citizen*, would have been a much greater inſult than to have charged him with robbing a church, or ſtealing a leg of mutton.—And ſuch has been the frenzied complexion of the times, that many a *pious Chriſtian* of Coddletown has curſed the tranſlators for a ſet of Jacobins, and committed his Bible to the flames, merely becauſe the phraſe "*Fellow-Citizens with the Saints*" had not been expunged therefrom.

To convince you of the propriety of the above obſervations, I ſhall trouble you with the following curious anecdote, the *alarming* tendency and notoriety of which cauſed no ſmall ſtir among the *Solomons* of our borough.

You muſt know then, that there liveth in the borough of Coddletown ſeveral eminent dealers in muſlins and cottons, among whom, and not the leſs remarkable for ſapience and reſpectability, are Citizens *Callico*, *Sheeting*, and *Peachum*.——

However, in order to avoid prolixity, I ſhall, without further preamble, inform you, that ſome months ago, when infatuation had riſen to its higheſt pitch, and the frightful *Alarm Bell* ſounded with perpetual clangor in Johnny Bull's ears, it happened that an unlucky and miſchievous female, ycleped *Tittle Tattle*, went to the ſhop of Mr. *Callico* for an article which ſhe could not be there ſupplied with, and from thence ſhe waited on Mr. *Sheeting*, telling him, that Mr. *Callico* had told her, that either CITIZENS *Sheeting* or *Peachum* could ſupply her with what ſhe wanted.—"What, Madam!" replies Mr. Sheeting, "is it poſſible that Mr. Callico could ever have been ſo wantonly wicked as to diſtinguiſh me by that accurſed,

curſed, Frenchified, and *Jacobin* epithet—*Citizen?*—Is it poſſible that *I* ſhould be marked by ſo deteſtable a name? —*I*, who have been ever the moſt forward in all Coddletown for expreſſions of royalty and loyalty?—*I*, who have ever expreſſed, on all occaſions, the warmeſt attachment to, and the higheſt veneration for, our moſt glorious, everbleſſed, irreparable, and immortal Conſtitution?——*I* am not accuſtomed to ſwear, Madam, but I'll be d——d if there be any juſtice in the happy Conſtitution I ſo much admire, I will puniſh *you* for a retailer of ſcandal, and Mr. *Callico* for a manufacturer of defamation!"—So ſaying, Mr. Sheeting flung himſelf out of the ſhop in a violent rage; and Mrs. Tittle Tattle very deliberately went to Mr. Peachum to work up his loyal feelings with the ſame ſtory alſo.

But alas, Citizen Editor, it happened that Mr. Peachum bore the fraternizing term with much leſs temper than his neighbor Sheeting. With rage and fury in his eyes, he inſtantly exclaims—" Damme, Madam! what d'ye mean? Do you come here to inſult me with your d——d French Jacobin names?—*I* a *Citizen*, who have made ſo many ſacrifices for the good of my Country?—*I* a *Citizen*; who have been always ſo ſtrenuous an advocate for this moſt *juſt*, *neceſſary*, and *religious* war, in which we are engaged?—*I* a *Citizen*, who have ſo liberally ſubſcribed towards flannel waiſtcoats and breeches, and who have always been on the watch to detect and mark a *jacobin* neighbor?—Can you have the wickedneſs to call me a *Citizen*, Madam, after that moſt convincing proof of loyalty and diſintereſtedneſs which I lately exhibited in the caſe of my young man James Plott? It is well known that he was my moſt confidential ſervant, and one of the beſt and moſt aſſiduous ſhopmen I ever had—yet on his dropping

dropping ſome *jacobin* expreſſions in my brother's hearing, did I not immediately ſacrifice my intereſt to the good of my Country, cauſe him to be apprehended for a *Jacobin*, and taken before his worſhip *Gaffer Greybeard*, our worthy Mayor, and although his worſhip, after a long examination, and on diſcovering his connexions, was pleaſed to diſcharge him, in conſideration of his youth, yet is it not well known to all the neighborhood that I uſed my utmoſt endeavors to have him committed?—And after all this to be called a *Citizen*—is too bad.—However, Madam, on this you may depend, that I will either make you or Mr. Callico eat your words, or trounce you both!"

Now, whether Mrs. Tittle Tattle had conceived a greater diſlike to Mr. Peachum than to ſome of his neighbors, I can't pretend to ſay; however, regardleſs of his threats, ſhe replied, with a vaſt deal of *ſans froid*, as follows.—" Why to be ſure I have often heard it ſaid in company, that Mr. *Peachum* was no *Solomon*, and I muſt confeſs to your face that your behaviour to me on this occaſion convinces me of the propriety of the remark. It is true, that you have ſaid much about your patriotiſm and diſintereſtedneſs; but you are generally acknowledged to be, like the Vicar of Bray, made of marketable materials—a man of no principle, who, guided by the rudder of gain, would ever wiſh to ſteer down the ſmooth ſtream of popular favor, without one individual object in view, ſave the *benefit of yourſelf*. And with reſpect to the proſecution of your young man Mr. Plott, upon which meritorious action you ſo much plume yourſelf, common report ſays, that you underſtood the innocent youth was on the verge of matrimony, and intended to open a ſhop in Coddletown, and that, in order to mar his happineſs, and

prevent

prevent his injuring you in buſineſs, you accuſed him of *Sedition*, and had him apprehended for a *Jacobin*; by which nefarious act you but too well ſucceeded in your wicked purpoſe, having ſo completely blaſted the young man's character, as to compel him to leave Coddletown, and ſeek an aſylum in the metropolis.—And now, Mr. Peachum, I wiſh you a good morning."

Thus ended the buſineſs with Mrs. Tittle Tattle, whom I verily believe to be a miſchievous Democrat, and whoſe principal deſign in this undertaking appears to have been, to alarm two *Alarmiſts*, and torment an *Apoſtate*, and in which ſhe moſt completely ſucceeded; for Sheeting and Peachum ſoon bore down in battle array upon poor Callico, and aſſailed him with ſuch vollies of hard words, as to compel him to wipe off the foul aſperſion upon his character, by making oath before his worſhip Gaffer Greybeard, that he had never called either Sheeting or Peachum by the wicked and *jacobin* name of *Citizen!*

And furthermore, Citizen Editor, the ſaid Mr. Callico, in order to do away every imputation and ſuſpicion of *jacobiniſm*, publiſhed a declaration of his loyalty in the public papers, offering a reward of five guineas to any man who could prove him guilty of the heinous ſin of *Jacobiniſm*. And as a further proof of his attachment to the glorious Conſtitution in Church and State, he embraced an opportunity which ſoon fortunately preſented itſelf, when the *Benefit Societies* walked in proceſſion on the anniverſary of his Sacred Majeſty's birth-day, to get upon the houſe-top and pronounce, *eternal damnation againſt all Jacobins!*

So much for the ſapience of theſe three *Coddletown Linen-drapers*.

But

But I would by no means have you ſuppoſe that miſconception of words has been ſolely confined to Coddletown.—No!—As a proof to the contrary I ſhall juſt inform you, that a friend of mine having lately viſited one of our County Baſtilles to ſee a poor mechanic, confined there for the horrid crime of poverty, had an opportunity of hearing ſome curious remarks on the ſubject of a French invaſion.

One poor emaciated wretch, who had been a long time impriſoned for debt, exclaimed—"Lord have mercy on us!—Should the French viſit this *hapyy* country, and introduce their curſed ſyſtem of *equality* amongſt *us*, *our Liberty and Property* will be gone for ever!" A ſea-faring man, who had been impriſoned for a more heinous offence, gave the poor debtor a look of ineffable contempt, and after calling him by a few opprobrious names, and curſing him moſt heartily, cried out—"D——n your Liberty and Property!—What is the loſs of that, when compared to our moſt *holy Religion?*—For ſhould theſe d——d atheiſtical French ſons of bitches effect a landing in Old England, they'd ſoon play the devil with the parſons—ſeize upon our *holy Mother Church*—tow her out to ſea—ſet fire to the whole fabric—blow her up to heaven, from whence ſhe firſt ſet ſail—and then farewel to all *Religion*, —damme!!!"

I am, Citizen Editor,

Your's, &c.

A CITIZEN OF CODDLETOWN.

ON REVOLUTIONS.

WAS it as poſſible to prevent revolutions in all human occurrences as it is impoſſible, who would long endure miſerably exiſting here below? For even the moſt abject of the Swiniſh Multitude could not by the proudeſt Ariſtocrat be prevented ſeeking an aſylum in the peaceful grave; and it is greatly to be feared, that many an honeſt and induſtrious father of a family may by deſpair be driven to that laſt reſort, rather than continue to behold penury and want attend beloved objects, unleſs, as before obſerved, ſome kind of revolution is ere long experienced. And let thoſe Ariſtocrats, who have ſo largely contributed to diſtreſs the (before too much) oppreſſed inn-keepers, by obliging them to charge their poſt horſes at a maximum; —let them, I ſay, haſten to cauſe *flour* to be put in a ſtate of requiſition likewiſe, before the cry of the Poor be too *loudly* raiſed, and the THRONE OF HEAVEN take cognizance of the oppreſſed, cauſing "the rich to go "away empty, and filling the hungry with good things." ——Like the ruſtling of a mighty wind, at firſt heard from afar, the GRUNTING OF THE SWINE may grow TOO VOCIFEROUS TO BE QUELLED.

Suffolk, Dec. 30, 1794.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

THE adoration of GOD with the heart and the lips, and the conſcientious diſcharge of our duties to each other, would make all mankind brethren, and the univerſe a temple.

temple. Dogmas are the inventions of fanatics and knaves. Morality is an emanation of God. The doctrine of Purgatory has coſt a hundred thouſand lives; but this ſimple profeſſion of faith, I LOVE GOD, AND OUGHT TO DO GOOD TO MY FELLOW-CREATURE, has never produced a ſingle quarrel from the foundation of the world.

Come then, my rational Socinian, my dear Quaker, my good Anabaptiſt, my gloomy Preſbyterian, my careleſs Epiſcopalian!—Come, ye Methodiſts and Pietiſts!—Come, even ye Papiſts! and let us all proſtrate ourſelves before the SUPREME BEING, and thank him for having given us poultry, and veniſon, and bread, for our nouriſhment; reaſon to know him, and a heart to adore him; and after having thus ſaid grace, let us ſup together in the cheerful benevolence of good fellowſhip.

VOLTAIRE.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

Happening yeſterday to fall in company with Baron Brimſtone, Prime Miniſter to his terrific and fiery Majeſty, who came on a viſit to a certain Right Reverend now in this city, I was favoured with the following ſtate papers, which I herewith tranſmit you for the edification of my ſwiniſh brethren.

Yours, &c.

GREGORY GRUNTER.

A Poetical Epiſtle from the POPE *to the* DEVIL.

MAY it pleaſe your grim Majeſty ſoon to appear
To baniſh my dreadful forebodings and fear;

Your

Your ear moſt infernal in mercy incline
To this humble requeſt—this petition of mine:
Too long have myſelf and friends *royal* around,
Attempted with *praying* and *faſting* profound,
To coax GOD ALMIGHTY to fight on our ſide,
But *national faſting* he ſeems to deride;
Alas! 'twas not ſo when the *Lord's great anointed*,
King *Ahab*, with *conſort*, a *faſt day* appointed;
Succeſs crown'd the wiſhes of *Jezebel* then,
And made couſin *Ahab* the happieſt of men.
But who with arch *Jezebel* now can compare,
For wond'rous endowments and qualities rare?
She manag'd the bus'neſs with *Naboth* ſo well,
As to ſeize his eſtate, and diſpatch him to hell.
What a charming contrivance—a *plot* to prepare
To ſubpœna falſe witneſs on purpoſe to ſwear,
That *Naboth* was guilty of *blaſphemous treaſon*,
And ſtone him to death—his vineyard to ſeize on.
Then the people of *Naboth*'s own city how *loyal*,
How kind to comply with th' injunctions *royal*;
To ſet up their *Jacobin* townſman on high,
And accuſe and condemn him for *treaſon* to die.
'Tis true, our good couſins have lately begun,
At *Vienna* and *Naples* the ſame kind of fun;
And in countries more diſtant, in hopes to ſucceed,
They conjur'd up *plots*, that vile *traitors* might bleed;
Nay ſo *loyal* and *pliant* in *iſles far away*,
That they really ſent *ſome* to *Botany Bay*.
What a pity our *Billy*, that ſtateſman divine,
Could not the damn'd laws of the realm undermine;
What a pity he could not by cunning ſucceed,
In *proving* a *plot* to the *South* of the Tweed!

But

But the curs'd *Britiſh jury* pretended, their laws
Would not ſanction his *intended rope-dancing* cauſe ;
On the *law*, and the *fact* permitted to reaſon,
They pronounc'd *Billy*'s *traitors* NOT GUILTY of *treaſon !*
Had *Billy*, our champion, our ſweet darling boy,
Been ſomewhat more crafty, and not quite ſo coy ;
O had he of *Jezebels* not been ſo ſhy ;
O had he engag'd but ONE *female ally*,
She'd have manag'd his matters ſo well, I dare ſay,
As to tuck up all *Naboths* quite out of his way.
But the curs'd *Engliſh trial by jury* I ſwear,
Has made things, if poſſible, worſe than they were.
O dear Mr. *Devil*, pray what ſhall we do ?
Since GOD will not hear us—we fly now to you :
On *Francis*, on *Frederick*, on *Billy* our friend,
On *armies*, on *navies*, we cannot depend ;
For the ſouls of our heroes are in conſternation,
Whenever they fight with the furious *arm'd nation.*
O let me beſeech then your *Highneſs ſupernal*,
To lend me ſome legions of *Spirits infernal* ;
With the curſed *Carmagnols* let their numbers be equal ;
Grant me to command 'em, and then mark the ſequel ;
I'd direct them at once, ſwift as thought to advance,
And ſhow them each *Jacobin* Sinner of France ;
With manœuvring expert I'd accompliſh my plan,
And order each *Devil* to ſeize on his man ;
Then plung'd deep in brimſtone the rebels ſhould go,
To people your Majeſty's regions below.
O grant then in mercy, O grant my requeſt,
And I'll evermore do what your Highneſs thinks beſt.
For your friendly compliance I wait and I hope,
Remaining—your ſervant moſt humble—*The POPE.*

Rome, 21ſt Jan. 1795.

FAREWEL

(The Devil's Anſwer to the Pope in our next.)

FAREWEL TO THE YEAR 1794.

THOU long—long year of Maſſacre—farewel!
With horror I retrace thy bloody reign;
For ah! of War's ſad victims who can tell
The countleſs myriads in thy circle ſlain?

Pregnant with human ills of every name,
And all the plagues that deſolate the earth;
I ſaw thee riſe in War's deſtructive flame,
And penſive mark'd thy inauſpicious birth.

O, ſtain'd with fouleſt crimes thy every hour!
Thy reign a regiſter of blood appears,
In which the "Dogs of War" did much devour,
More ſavage far than in preceding years.

Too much of this, the rapid Rhine, the Meuſe,
The Scheldt, the Sambre, and the deep Moſelle,
Can bluſhing prove, whilſt human blood profuſe,
Their banks empurple, and their waters ſwell.

Too much of this, the Alps, the Pyrennees,
Columbia's Iſles, and Northern Lands, have found;
For torrid zones, rough ſeas, and climes that freeze,
Have heard alike the battle's thunder ſound.

Too much of this was Poland made to feel,
'Gainſt *Royal Robbers* forc'd in arms to riſe;
For ah! beneath the barb'rous Coſſack's ſteel
Her valiant KOSCIUSCO bleeding lies!

Illuſtrious

Illuſtrious Chief!—*ſure 'tis no treaſon here*
To pay an heartfelt tribute to thy worth;
O'er ſuffering Liberty to drop a tear,
And curſe the bloody Tygreſs of the North.

Lo! Iſmael's brutal conqu'ror from afar
Leads on his myrmidons in ſcent of prey;
Train'd up to all the cruelties of war,
To age, to ſex, they no diſtinction pay!

Ill-fated Praga yielded to their rage,
And, oh! the maſſacre that there enſued!
In blood of blooming youth, and hoary age,
Their ſavage hands were wickedly imbrued!

. . . . . .

In vain the Mother's pray'r, the Infant's cry,
Nor pray'rs, nor tears, could move the furious band;
Beneath the ſword ALL undiſtinguiſh'd die,
For thus the FIEND SUWARROW gave command!

Anon thy reign, thou year of blood, is o'er,
And pleas'd my Muſe ſhall ſound thy parting knell;
O could ſhe ſtill as ſoon the cannons' roar,
And bid with thee the pomp of War farewel!

But Kings and Miniſters, with madneſs fraught,
Reſolve the trade of *ſlaughter* to purſue;
In ſpite of all, by ſad experience taught,
To ſoft humanity they bid adieu!

Bath, Dec. 31, 1794.

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WAR! WAR!! WAR!!!

Reaſons for continuing the preſent juſt and neceſſary WAR.

THE preſent war is both juſt and neceſſary: it is juſt, becauſe the French have dared to form a conſtitution of their own, without ſubmitting to the wiſdom of the Government of England, in what manner they ſhould form it:—Neceſſary, becauſe it is right the rebels ſhould be brought, by the argument of force, to confeſs the folly and wickedneſs of their preſumption.

Becauſe, *under the exiſting circumſtances*, we are likely to obtain the object of our deſires; our reſources being no ways exhauſted; and our allies firm and *faithful* to the cauſe.

Becauſe, for divers *ſmall* ſums of money, we have had great aſſiſtance from the Kings of Pruſſia and Sardinia, and

and for the trifling ſum of Six Millions we are promiſed the aid of the Emperor of Germany.

Becauſe the finances of the French are in ſo low a ſtate, as to diſable them from continuing the conteſt much longer; and as their former ſucceſſes were owing to the majority of their numbers, ſo in the next campaign, may we expect the ſame ſucceſs from the *vaſt* army to be furniſhed us by the Emperor.

Becauſe the expences of this war, have been but *ſmall*; not much exceeding the ſum of Seventy Millions, and the loſs of our ſoldiers being eſtimated at ſo *few* a number as One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Men.

Becauſe the ſubjugation of the Weſt-India iſlands, greatly counterbalances the loſſes we have experienced on the Continent; as an inſtanee of the profits we derive from their produce, which principally conſiſts in ſugar, that article now *only* ſells for *one ſhilling and two-pence per pound.*

Becauſe, from the *great genius* of Lord Spencer, we may rely upon victory by ſea, and that our merchant ſhips, *as hitherto*, will be protected.

Becauſe it is neceſſary that the wicked and abominable doctrine of THE RIGHTS OF MAN, as practiſed by the French, ſhould be exterminated, for the *eaſe* and *ſafety* of every monarch in Europe.

Becauſe the national debt will be greatly diminiſhed when the preſent *glorious* war is terminated; that is, when France will accept of ſuch a government as ſhall be dictated by ourſelves and the other coaleſced powers. The young monarch, Louis, will cede to us our newly-acquired iſlands, which will prove an everlaſting ſource of wealth to this nation, without the *ſmalleſt expence* of keeping poſſeſſion of them.

Becauſe,

Becauſe this is not a *calamitous* war, as hath been aſſerted by the Jacobins, our commerce flouriſhing more than at any former period; no ſigns of emigration; taxes *few*, and proviſions *cheap*; the war not in the ſlighteſt degree affecting thoſe neceſſary articles of conſumption, *bread*, *meat*, and *coals*.

Hence, then, ye diſaffected Jacobins; reflect on the happineſs ye witneſs under our GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION; let no more of your murmurings be heard, but endeavour to deſerve the bleſſings ye enjoy.

WM. TOONE.

THE DISINTERESTED FAMILY.

IT may excite no degree of reſentment, though it will perhaps create a bluſh of ſhame in the countenance of honeſt John Bull, when he recollects how he has been humbugged by the *patriotiſm* of the Duke of Richmond, and the *diſintereſtedneſs* of Mr. Pitt. Of the firſt let the boroughs of Seaford and Queenſborough make mention: and the ſecond may be collected from the following liſt of places, ſinecures, and titles, conferred on his own family ſince he has been miniſter.

PLACES DURING PLEASURE.

Mr. Pitt, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, ſalary per ann. - - -	4,000
Ditto, Chancellor of the Exchequer -	2,000
Couſin of Buckingham, three years Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ſalary 20,000 per ann.	60,000
Couſin Grenville, Secretary of State, ſalary per ann. - - -	10,000

Brother

Brother Chatham, Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, ſalary per ann. - - -	5,000
Couſin Pitt, the General, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland, per ann.	3,000
Brother-in-Law Townſend, a Lord of the Admiralty, per ann. - -	1,000

PLACES FOR LIFE.

Mr. Pitt, Warden of the Cinque Ports, per ann. - - - - -	4,000
Couſin Grenville, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland, per ann. -	3,000
Ditto Keeper of the Parks - -	3,000
Brother-in-Law Eliott, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in England - -	3,000
Father-in-Law Sydney, Chief Juſtice in Eyre, per ann. - - -	2,000

TITLES CONFERRED ON THE FAMILY.

Couſin Temple, Marquis of Buckingham.
Couſin Grenville, Lord Grenville.
Father-in-Law Townſend, Viſcount and Baron Sydney
Father-in-Law Eliot, Lord Eliot.
Uncle Pitt, Lord Camelford.
Brother Chatham, Knight of the Garter.
Couſin of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter.
Couſin Pitt, the General, Knight of the Bath.
Ford Forteſcue, who married one of the Grenvilles, a Viſcount and Earl.
Lord Carysfort, who married another ditto, an Earl.
Mr. Neville, who married another ditto, the Barony of Braybrooke, in reverſion.

In

In all 60,000*l.* a year in ſalaries, beſides patronage and perquiſites; one Marquiſate, two Earldoms, one Viſcount, four Baronies; two Blue Ribbons, and one Red ditto. In addition to which, the Earl of Chatham has 4000*l.* per annum, ſettled by act of parliament on the title; the Dowager Counteſs of Chatham has a penſion of 3000*l.* per annum more. And the Marquis of Buckingham holds the ſinecure place of Teller of the Exchequer, which having obtained previous to paſſing the Civil Liſt Reform bill, is 14,000*l.* per annum more, making in all EIGHTY-ONE THOUSAND a year; but as theſe three laſt were granted before the *diſintereſted, immaculate, heaven-born miniſter* came into power, I do not bring them to the account of his *diſintereſtedneſs*.

Lord North was ſeverely reprobated, and with great juſtice, for attaching to himſelf and family ſo enormous a ſhare of the ſpoils of his country; what ſhall we then ſay of the *immaculate* Mr. Pitt, who has monopolized three times the amount of Lord North's places, and ſtill ſeems ready to devour as much more?

A few more ſuch men as Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Roſe, and Jack Robinſon, would ſwallow up the whole country. We may well exclaim, with the late honeſt Sir Charles Turner, "Lord have mercy upon the Poor! all "their earnings go to ſupport the Miniſter's friends."

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

IN order to form a juſt and accurate opinion of the French Revolution, it may not be improper to contraſt it with the old government, by a brief expoſure of the

the baſeneſs and depravity of thoſe who had the chief direction of the ſtate.

It muſt be admitted, that the meaſures purſued by France at this preſent time, has a ſtrong claim to the ſerious conſideration of the people of this country, not on account of its being ſo populous and extenſive an empire, but for the momentous cauſe in which they are engaged, and in which we have riſqued ſo great a ſtake,—no leſs than our exiſtence as a nation! by the highly criminal conduct of our baſe and degraded miniſters. I truſt, but few obſervations will be neceſſary to enable all unprejudiced minds to diſcriminate which form of government be moſt conducive to the happineſs or miſery of the people, ſubject to its domination and power. Few, I believe, but deteſtable *dependants* will pronounce the ancient deſpotiſm to be the moſt deſirable.

It is generally allowed, indeed it is indiſputable, that the old government was veſted in the hands of the Sovereign, but who delegated ſome of that abſolute power to a ſet of men under the denomination of Ariſtocrats. Places of truſt and importance were uſually put up to auction, and knocked down to the perſon who offered the moſt money. The infallible conſequence was, that as the command or power of ſuch places was ſold at a high price, the purchaſer would endeavour to have reſtored to him the amount of the purchaſe-money, and that too with a moſt exorbitant intereſt. The means he would employ for the attainment of ſuch compenſation, would be by no lenient and gentle meaſures. He would impoſe exceſſive taxes; oppreſs the poor, as well as thoſe of opulence;—a deſtructive ſyſtem of politics would be put into execution, whoſe fatal tendency would beget inteſtine diſcord; and by being ſuffered to proceed a certain

tain time, would attach ſome degree of criminality upon the principal movers; when proſcription, impriſonment, confiſcation, and death, would be the inevitable reſult of their pernicious plans and avaricious practices. Such infamous meaſures tended more to the ſatisfaction and emolument of the iniquitous government, than the moſt abject ſervility or meaneſt conceſſions of the miſerable delinquents to the deſpotic wills of the retailers of human fleſh, the Grand Monarchs. Diſcontents and murmurs, and clamours of the populace contributed more to the enriching the coffers of the *humane* viceroys, than marks of deſpondency and deſpair in the arbitrarily ruled. Supineneſs operated to their entire ruin; and brought down upon them all the horrors of poverty. For, a ſtate of poverty tends moſt effectually, and in a particular manner, to the humiliation of a deſpicable courtier; and when it happens to them, no deſcription of perſons evince more meanneſs, wretchedneſs, and miſery.

Thoſe who exerciſed the powers of government, in concert with the Sovereign, had the indefinite privilege of iſſuing *lettres de cachet*; whereby they were enabled to caſt their ſecret or avowed enemies into a loathſome dungeon, till it ſhould pleaſe them to liberate the unfortunate victims; but which rarely happened till the death of their relentleſs perſecutors, or the merciful Protector of the afflicted, called them into eternity by a premature mortality, as a happy releaſe from the infernal fangs of their mercileſs and callous-hearted tyrants.

It is alſo well known that the indigent peaſants, who reſided in the provinces, were conſtrained to furniſh their plunder-fed maſters with the produce of their eſtates, or little farms, in price much inferior to the value of the commodities. Deficiency of money to purchaſe grain for

the

the enſuing years crops, was the unavoidable conſequence, whereby they were rendered utterly incapable of ſupplying their wives and families with the neceſſary food for their ſubſiſtence. When reduced to ſuch extreme want it was, undoubtedly, juſtifiable to avenge themſelves on thoſe perſons who were the ſole cauſe of their misfortunes, diſtreſs, and unhappy condition. Hence we may collect the reaſon of ſo many diſorders and outrages in that old oppreſſive government under the monarchy, or more properly oligarchy; and which will ever be the caſe in ſtates where there exiſts ſuch partial diſtinctions between the peer and peaſant, to the excluſion of the latter from every thing that is dear and valuable in this mundane ſtate.

Such, Sir, was the eſſence of the diabolical government of France before the glorious revolution of 1789. May the fate of Louis XVI. be a leſſon to all the crowned ruffians of Europe, what dangers ariſe from a ſyſtem of oppreſſion and inſult upon their *maſters*, the people! and may it be an example for all nations to imitate; when their rulers abuſe that *truſt* repoſed in them which was intended, not for the aggrandiſement of the *few*, but for the benefit of the *many!* Let Kings and Emperors remember, that nations have *two* precedents to cite in favour of the juſtice of their cauſe.

B—NE.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

IF ever there was a criſis that called for the ſerious attention and reflection of our fellow-citizens, ſurely it is the preſent; when a combination of crowned deſpots have

have committed and are committing the moſt horrid maſſacres, with all the vindictive and helliſh vengeance that it is poſſible for the human mind to conceive. Look to Poland, and there you will behold a ſpectacle of rapine, murder, and devaſtation, committed with ſuch horrible and ſuperlative acts of cruelty as could only be deviſed by their great coadjutor, his Satanic Majeſty, and executed by ſuch a ſanguinary and blood-thirſty monſter as the Ruſſian Catherine, aided by the treacherous Frederick and the great Carcaſe Butcher of Germany, Francis.—Next caſt a view on the French, who, notwithſtanding the grand confederacy againſt them, have with fortune which they were and are worthy of, (would that the Polanders had been equally ſucceſsful) defeated the foul machinations of their ambitious and deſpotic enemies, and roſe ſuperior to the greateſt and unexampled obſtacles, braving every danger and difficulty in defence and ſupport of the moſt valuable and precious acquiſition, "Liberty."—Take a view of the Dutch, behold, through the intrigues of St. James's, the Stadtholder, and his deſpotic adherents at the Hague, an induſtrious and commercial people, have been plunged into an unjuſtifiable war, which has brought them to the verge of ruin and deſtruction.—Take a view of this country, and behold the deſtruction of our commerce by the innumerable captures made by the vigilance and activity of the commanders of the French naval armament, our manufactures in an almoſt ſtagnate ſtate, and the generality of the people ſunk down and oppreſſed for want of employ, and an additional burthen of accumulated taxes for the purpoſe of defraying the expence of the laſt diſaſtrous campaign, and no other proſpect but addition to their diſtreſſes, if poſſible, by an increaſe of taxation and a com-

complete annihilation of their trade, through the obſtinacy and wickedneſs of miniſters, who have openly declared their intention, and procured a vote in the preſent corrupt parliament, to perſevere in ſacrificing the lives of our fellow Citizens, at the altar of tyranny and ambition. Fellow Citizens, what has recently been the conduct of an abandoned miniſtry, who have been guilty of the moſt conſpicuous crimes regiſtered in the records of the ancient monarchy of hell, and which are only to be committed to obtain certain admiſſion into the infernal regions? This miniſtry being, no doubt, alarmed with the guilt which that inward monitor, conſcience, preſented to them, and fearing they ſhould not be long able to evade that fate which they ſo juſtly merited, to divert the attention of the people from a cloſe examination into their flagitious conduct, ſpread an alarm that the moſt horrid conſpiracies were formed, to carry into effect, plots to dethrone the King and ſubvert the conſtitution.—Theſe alarms were ſanctioned and ſupported by the great body of corrupt repreſentatives, in conſequence of which, men were dragged from their homes and families, charged with being traitors to their country.—After ſuffering long impriſonment, till the wicked maſs of ſpies and informers, the blood-hounds of adminiſtration, who had been long hackneyed in the moſt vicious and abominable purſuits, had well ſtudied the various parts they were to perform, that they might, if poſſible, bring to an ignominious death (for crimes not even thought of but by themſelves and execrable employers) men who have proved themſelves friends to the conſtitution of England, and who were, to the great joy of the people, declared NOT GUILTY of the charges preferred,—by juries of their country.—Laſtly, take a general view of the different countries that have been,

been, and are involved in ſhedding the blood of the human race, ſince the Duke of Brunſwick's bloody manifeſto, too numerous to aſcertain. Behold the innumerable mutilated victims that have eſcaped death but only to experience a life of indigence and wretchedneſs, who, with the wives and fatherleſs children of thoſe, who, through want, or a blind zeal, or both, have been fighting and fell in the cauſe of tyrants, and to extirpate liberty, and thoſe who have fought in the moſt glorious cauſe, its defence; all of whom have juſt cauſe, and no doubt, moſt do join in the bittereſt execrations againſt the ambitious, tyrannic, and deteſtable monſters, who have been the provokers and abettors of the preſent ruinous and bloody conflict.

Fellow Citizens, theſe are facts that you muſt all be well convinced of; conſequently I ſhould hope the neceſſity for unanimouſly uſing every exertion, and perſevering to put an end to this deſtructive war, muſt be obvious, and of obtaining full poſſeſſion of your liberties, the latter of which can only be effected by a reform in the parliamentary repreſentation.

Freedom's Stye, A LIBERTY PIG.
Jan. 9, 1795.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

If the following be worth a place in the Hog Waſh, you are welcome to it, and by inſerting it you will oblige one who may dream again. A GRUNTER.

A DREAM.

BEING worn out with the toil of the day, I laid myſelf down to ſleep, and the viſion of my head troubled me, for I beheld the world in confuſion, and men deſtroying

ſtroying each other, without remorſe; nay, ſuch was the infatuation, that he who could deſtroy the moſt, had the greateſt ſhare of praiſe, as though born for no other purpoſe than to ſpread diſtreſs and devaſtation among men.

While I was beholding with aſtoniſhment this unnatural brutality, I was informed, that a few, who thirſted for ambition and power, were the cauſe of all the bloodſhed which I beheld; and, turning myſelf round, I ſaw many people going into a large building, and I followed them; and being, as I ſuppoſed, ſeated among the reſt, a man appeared in long robes, in a place by himſelf, and addreſſed the people with theſe words, "Honour the King." This man ſeemed to have ſuch power on the paſſions of the people with his prieſtcraft, as abated my aſtoniſhment. why they ſhould deſtroy each other in ſuch a manner, ſeeing thoſe ignorant beings were more afraid of ſpeaking againſt this king, than to blaſpheme the Majeſty of heaven. I was then led to conſider, how a rational being could be thus impoſed upon, but I was ſoon given to underſtand it was not ſo much an impoſition on the mind, as a force upon their will, for in my viſion I was carried to a large city, and there I heard a general diſcontent among the poor, by whom this king was ſupported in all manner of luxuries, while they were deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. This appeared at firſt to be very ſtrange; and while I was muſing on it, I ſaw a man, plainly dreſt, coming towards me, who ſaid all theſe things are by divine appointment. Thus addreſſed, and admiring the plainneſs of the man, I was induced to follow him, and he took me into a large, but plain building, where were many people, and I ſat down among the reſt, having loſt ſight of the man; but he ſoon appeared in a place, after

aſcending

aſcending ſome ſteps with much ſanctity, making prayer and ſupplication for all kings, and all in authority, &c. &c. He then read the following words, " He that reſiſteth the " power, reſiſteth to his own damnation." His looking towards me made me the more attentive; but I ſoon found him to be a wolf in ſheep's clothing, by his enforcing paſſive obedience to thoſe who were committing robbery and murder, and calling it juſt and neceſſary. After he had ended his blaſphemy, for ſuch I muſt call it, as he laid all the miſchief on the Almighty, the people being nearly all gone, I ſaw him go into a ſmall room. I followed him, to aſk him a few queſtions: Firſt, If God appointed war? he ſaid yes. I told him, St. James muſt be very much miſtaken in chapter 4, for he ſaid, " War and fighting come of mens luſts;" and not only, that if war was of God's appointment, how came Chriſt to enforce ſo much the doctrine of peace. Secondly, I aſked him, if there was no caſe in which the text which he had been ſpeaking from might not be read, that " He " that aſſiſteth the power, aſſiſteth to his own damnation." He not being able, or not willing to give an anſwer, I referred him to the caſe of Jeroboam and Manaſſeh, as two evident proofs, and ſo left him.

I beheld in my dream a combination of creatures in the form of men, but with the hearts of beaſts of the moſt devouring kind, and among the reſt a She Bear with a head like a woman; this monſter delighted in nothing ſo much as in the blood of men.

I beheld, alſo, a Bull with the heart of a Lion, who was the Chief of the Combination, and no dog was for ſome time found to tame him. At length I beheld a large Dog, though not of the Bull breed, that had broke from his chains, who came to face the Bull. I aſked from whence

whence he came, and being told he was a French Dog, I beheld till he caught the Bull by the noſe. The combat laſted till the Bull, falling into a large Pitt, was drowned: the reſt of the creatures endeavouring to ſave him ſhared the ſame fate.

The extraordinary eſcape of the Dog was no ſmall aſtoniſhment to me, whom I ſaw, after proclaiming Liberty to a great multitude of Swine and other animals, whoſe loud exclamations of joy at the deſtruction of thoſe devouring creatures, awaked me, and I found it to be a Dream.

THE DEVIL TO THE POPE.

In anſwer to a Letter from his Holineſs.

MY dear Couſin Pope I'm quite ſorry to find
Such diſmal forebodings tormenting your mind;
And it gives me, believe me, a vaſt deal of pain,
That your Holineſs has to petition in vain.—
For to reign *now*, my friend, is a diff'rent thing
Than when *Jezebel* plotted, and *Ahab* was King;
The low Swiniſh Multitude then were all prone
To worſhip as GODS thoſe who ſat on a Throne;
But now the damn'd doctrine of *equal by birth*,
Is making moſt confounded progreſs on earth;
And to lead you, my friend, to the ſource of the evil,
'Tis Learning and Printing has play'd you the Devil.
The fam'd predeceſſors of Monarchs and Popes
Did thereby contribute to blaſt all your hopes;
For though advocates ſtaunch for deſpotic ſway,
They fooliſhly pav'd for this evil the way;
Had they kept learning from People and Church,
Your Holineſs would not be thus in the lurch.—

'Tis

'Tis in vain now, my friend, to *conjure up Treaſon*,
Or to *forge a Conſpiracy* ſhocking to reaſon ;
Nay *Billy* himſelf is convinc'd I dare ſay,
For manœuvres like theſe—*'tis too late in the day.*
My friend's pericranium—full of odd notions,
Has caus'd him to make ſome confounded motions ;
For ſuch your requeſt that I cannot comply,
Though it grieves me your Holineſs thus to deny.
You aſk me to lend you of Devils ſome legions,
And with *Jacobins* promiſe to people my regions ;
But permit me, my friend, now to ſolemnly ſwear
That no *curſed Jacobins* ſhall be ſent there :
Such enemies they to all privileg'd orders,
That they'd drive a ſtrange rout thro' all my wide borders ;
And you know, my good friend, that we both are agreed,
Our faith is the ſame, and political creed.
Non-reſiſtance the motto of Devil and Pope ;
Our ſubjects we neither allow to have ſcope,
Beyond the old limits ſo plainly laid down,
Of *paſsive obedience*, and *rights of the Crown.*
How then could you think, my good friend and ally,
That with your requeſt I could ever comply ?
Had you but attempted my legions to muſter,
They'd ſoon have clos'd round you in tumultuous cluſter,
Of your Holineſs quick they'd have ſettled the fate,
Nor have touch'd the Republican Dogs whom they hate.
All afraid of attacking a furious *arm'd Nation*,
They'd have ſent you to Hell, by way of tranſlation.
I think, my good friend, you do right to refrain
From the old farce of teazing th' Almighty again ;
And although on *this day* with faſting and pray'r
They mock him, and vex him we both can tell *where*,

Yet

Yet God won't regard them, but do as he pleaſes,
In ſpite of the hypocrites making long faces.
I beg my dear Pope, that you'll make yourſelf eaſy,
And I'll fit up a birth in my Palace to pleaſe ye,
Where you always ſhall meet with behavior moſt civil,
From your ſervant obedient and humble,

The DEVIL.

Pandemonium, 25th Feb. 1795.

EPITAPH FOR THOMAS PAINE.

A Wight here joins the clay-clad crowd,
Who faith's injunctions diſavow'd.
By moral laws his works he try'd;
While ſocial duties were his pride,
And pure philanthropy the end
Of all he did, or cou'd intend.
Prayer he pronounc'd impiety,
As meant to alter God's decree.
Yet he return'd a grateful ſenſe,
Of bountiful omnipotence.
Nor ever was averſe to own,
That bleſſings ſprang from him alone.
Of what's ſtil'd ſin, he ſcarce thought ſhame,
Since this from in-born paſſion came;
Which, if by nature form'd too ſtrong,
Nature, not he, was in the wrong.
Thus, unappall'd, he ſunk to reſt,
To riſe, or not, as heav'n found beſt.
Yet future hopes he did not wave,
Nor mercy for tranſgreſſions crave,
The God who gave him life, will ſave.

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1795.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

I OFFER a ſmall Sketch of a new Directory, for the year of Human Redemption 1795.

The K——, *Bethlem.*

The P——of W——, *Cuckold's Point, Diſsipation Row.*

D—— of Y——, *Dunkirk Street, Slaughter-Houſe Yard.*

W. Pitt, *Labour in Vain Street.*

Lord Chatham, *Lubbers Hole.*

H. Dundas, *Turnagain Lane, Knaves Acre.*

C. Fox, *Conſiſtency Court.*

Attorney General, *Twiſters Alley, Innuendo Court.*

Solicitor General, *Birchin Lane, Fetters Court.*

Lords of the Scotch Court of Juſticiary, *Jefferies Square.*

Perſecuted

Perſecuted Patriots, alias acquitted Felons, *Honeſty Square.*

Lord Chancellor, *Bull's Head Court.*

Mr. Halhed, *Credulity Square.*

Duke of Portland, *Change Alley.*

Duke of Richmond, *Cannon Street.*

Mr. Serjeant Adair, *Billingsgate.*

Mr. Erſkine, *Liberty Hall.*

Citizen Stanhope, *Magna Charta Square.*

Mr. Grey, *Middle Row.*

Edmund Burke, *Dagger Lane, Chivalry Court.*

The Majority of the Houſe of Lords,
The Majority of the Houſe of Commons, } *Penſioners Place.*

The majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain live in huts, reſembling hog-ſties; hence originates the metaphyſical phraſe, (of the renowned Knight of the Dagger) Swiniſh Multitude: and it is to the magnanimous exertions of Kings and Miniſters, that the bulk of mankind are indebted for the enjoyments of war, of famine, and poverty. Would to God the paraſites of a court were to experience the miſeries they cauſe others to undergo! The miſeries of the poor are termed the ſeditious grunting of Swine, for apathy has become the characteriſtic of each Right Hon. Gentleman.

——————But courts and courtiers
Shall diſſolve,
And, like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion,
Leave not a wreck behind.

R. T.

To the Editor of POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,

If the following is worthy of a place in your valuable repoſitory, by inſerting it you will oblige your conſtant reader,

C. J.

Miniſterial Artifice exemplified, in a Letter from Sir Robert Walpole to his late Majeſty.

SIRE,

THE violence of the fit of the ſtone, which has tormented me for ſome days, is now ſo far abated, that although it will not permit me to have the honour of waiting on your majeſty, it is yet kind enough to enable me ſo far to obey your orders, as to write my ſentiments concerning that troubleſome man Mr. Pulteney; and to point out (what I conceive to be) the moſt effectual method to make him perfectly quiet. Your majeſty well knows, how, by the dint of his eloquence, he has ſo captivated the mob, and attained an unbounded popularity, that the moſt manifeſt wrong, appears right, when adopted and urged by him. Hence it is, that he is become not only troubleſome, but even dangerous. The unthinking multitude believe he has no one object but the public good, although if they would reflect a little, they would ſoon perceive, that ſpleen againſt thoſe your majeſty has honoured with your confidence has greater weight with him than real patriotiſm; ſince, let any meaſure be propoſed, however ſalutary, if he thinks it comes from me, it is ſufficient for him to oppoſe it. Thus, Sir, you ſee that affairs of the moſt momentous concerns are ſubject to the caprice of that popular man,

and

and he has nothing to do but to declare it a miniſterial project, and bellow out the word favorite, to have an hundred pens drawn againſt it, and a thouſand mouths open to contradict it. Under theſe circumſtances he bears up againſt the miniſtry (and let me add, againſt your majeſty yourſelf); and every uſeful ſcheme muſt be either abandoned, or if it is carried in either houſe, the public is made to believe it is done by a corrupt majority. Since then things are thus circumſtanced, it is become abſolutely neceſſary, for the public tranquility, that he ſhould be made quiet; and the only method to do that effectually, is to deſtroy his popularity, and ruin the good belief the people have in him. In order to do this, he muſt be invited to court; your majeſty muſt condeſcend to ſpeak to him in the moſt favourable and diſtinguiſhing manner; you muſt make him believe that he is the only perſon upon whoſe opinion you can rely, and to whom your people look up for every uſeful meaſure. As he has already ſeveral times refuſed to take the lead in the adminiſtration, unleſs it was totally modelled to his fancy, your majeſty ſhould cloſe in with his advice, and give him leave to arrange the adminiſtration as he pleaſes, and put whom he chuſes in office, (there can be no danger in that, as you can diſmiſs him when you think fit). When he is got thus far, (to which his extreme ſelf-love, and the high opinion he entertains of his own importance, will eaſily conduce), it will be neceſſary that your majeſty ſhould ſeem to have a great regard for his health; ſignify to him that your affairs would be ruined if he ſhould die; that you want to have him conſtantly near you, to have his ſage advice; and that, therefore, as he is much diſordered in body, and ſomething infirm, it will be neceſſary for his preſervation, for him to quit the houſe of commons,

(where

(where malevolent tempers will be continually fretting him, and where indeed his preſence will be needleſs, as no ſtep will be taken but according to his advice) and that he will let you give him a diſtinguiſhing mark of your approbation, by creating him a peer. This he may be brought to: for if I know any thing of mankind, he has a love for honours and money; and notwithſtanding his great haughtineſs and ſeeming contempt of honour, he may be won, if it is done with dexterity; for, as the poet Fenton ſaid,

"Flattery's an oil ſoftens the toughеſt fool."

If your majeſty can once bring him to accept a coronet, all will be over with him; the changing multitude will ceaſe to have any confidence in him; and when you ſee that your majeſty may turn your back upon him, diſmiſs him from his poſt, turn out his meddling partiſans, and reſtore things to quiet. For then, if he complains, it can be of no avail; the bee will have loſt his ſting, and become a drone, whoſe buzzing nobody heeds. Your majeſty will pardon me for the freedom with which I have given my ſentiments and advice; which I ſhould not have done, had you not commanded it; and had I not been certain that your peace is much diſturbed by the contrivances of this turbulent man. I ſhall only add, that I will diſpoſe ſeveral, whom I know to wiſh him well, to ſolicit for his eſtabliſhment in power, that you may ſeem to yield to their intreaties, and the fineſſe be the leſs liable to be diſcovered. I hope to have the honour to attend your majeſty in a few days, which I will do privately, that my public preſence may give him no umbrage.

ROBERT WALPOLE.

OF WAR, AND ITS EFFECTS.

THE din of war, terrific, horrid war!
Appals the heart, and makes all nature to
Her centre ſhake! Loſt is the olive's bloom,
And the diſmal cypreſs rears its woful
Creſt. No longer do mirthful hours prevail:
Blaſted and deſtroy'd are the ſweet delights
Of life: the heav'n-born breath of peace is drown'd
In the piteous and melancholy ſhrieks
Of outrag'd, excruciated nature!
With wily arts was the honeſt Edward
From his gentle Emma lur'd, to wade thro'
Seas of human gore to find the bubble
Honour. His amiable lovely conſort
In affliction bore a ſon, the tender
Offspring of connubial love—of nuptial
Eliſs the joyful iſſue. Soon did ſhe teach
The pretty babe to liſp its father's name;
When, enraptur'd with the ſound, would ſhe ſeize
The little innocent, and preſs it to
Her panting breaſt in exſtaſy of love!
Alas! ſweet Emma, how tranſient were thy
Joys! How ſoon from thy lips was daſh'd the cup
Of happineſs! Diſturbed was her mind,
And in the anguiſh of her heart would ſhe
Exclaim, 'Never, my Edward, no never
'Shall you leave again the fond partaker
'Of your joys and griefs to go in "queſt of
"Melancholy adventures," if once more
'Theſe arms could thee embrace. Th' empurpl'd field
'No more ſhould ſmoke by thy reluctant ſteel,
'No more thy hands in brother's blood be bath'd,
'Ill fitted for ſuch uſe. Your loving wife

'And

'And tender infant claim your greateſt care.
'Come then, my dear, oh! come and ſoothe the mind
'Of your diſtracted Emma, aſſuage the
'Tortures, and mitigate the pains of her
'Foreboding breaſt. Thus ſaid, ſuffus'd in tears,
'Lifeleſs, down ſhe ſunk.' Releaſe moſt happy!
For ſoon was heard that *Edward was no more*!

BENEVOLUS.

A Lord Temporal, and a Lord Spiritual, from ſelf-intereſt; a Soldier, and a Sailor, from ignorance, joining in a Quartetto.

SOLDIER.

FILL the goblet with blood, for murder's my toaſt,
I'm a ſoldier, whoſe hardſhip is pleaſure;
Yellow fevers are treats, of agues I boaſt,
But if wounded, O joy beyond meaſure!
My legs full of holes,
I bleſs their kind ſouls
Who let the froſt bite me all night while on duty.
If cold in a ditch
I laugh at the rich
Who lie warm in bed with their Venus of beauty.
Who dares *mend* my lot?
By *York* he ſhall not,
Little pay, and great danger for me.

SAILOR.

Zounds! a ſailor to taſte of pleaſures aſhore!
'Tis a ſign of the landſman—a wonder!
Let me loſe legs and arms, for *Kings I adore*,
O with chain ſhot pray cut me aſunder!
War, war, and no peace,
From death no releaſe.

The water moſt putrid's moſt pleaſant for drinking.
The preſs-gang is right
To *make Britons fight*—
Here's God ſave the King, and our beef that is ſtinking.
Who dares *mend* my lot?
By *Hood* he ſhall not,
O, a *hearty round dozen* for me.

LORD TEMPORAL, OR PENSION'D PLACEMAN.

I'm a noble—ſtand off—my power is great,
To my fortune juſt added a penſion.
I'm a *waiter* on Kings, the *goldſtick* in ſtate—
Such a *title*, Swine, claims your attention.
Don't tell me of peace,
Let taxes increaſe,
Fight on for us nobles, the *pride* of the nation:
French dogs would deſtroy
Each grandeur-*gilt toy*.
He is not a *Peer* who could wiſh reformation.
Who dares *change* my lot?
By *George* he ſhall not,
Garter, ribband, ſtar, title, for me.

A LORD SPIRITUAL; ALIAS A BISHOP.

Durham's Biſhop ſtands up, hear, hear, the lawn ſleeves,
" The *pomp* of the world, I pray you, *deteſt*—
" For our *maſter* was *meek*, the maxim he leaves
" Muſt have *practice*, not be only *profeſt*."
My ſermon is done—
I was but in fun,
Eighteen thouſand a year do you think I'd reject,
Like *curate* to want—
No, take my word on't
Heaven's price is *too dear* to be one of th' elect.
Who dares *change* my lot?
I ſwear he ſhall not,
A grand palace and mitre for me.

FINIS.